

THE
General History
OF THE
Highways,
In all PARTS of the
WORLD,
More particularly in
GREAT BRITAIN:

CONTAINING,

- I. The Manner of Making and Managing of them by the *Carthaginians, Lacedemonians, Romans, Indians of Peru*, and all other Nations, from the remotest Antiquity to this Time.
- II. An Account of *Antoninus's* Itinerary, and the *Pevtinger* Tables.
- III. The just Proportion between the Ancient and Modern Furlongs, Miles and Leagues.
- IV. The Original and Advancement of the Post.
- V. Canals cut, Bridges built, and Ports made by the *Romans*.
- VI. An Accurate Description of *Rome*, in Three several Ages.
- VII. And lastly, An Account of the Modern Roads in *Great Britain*: With an Abstract of the Laws concerning them, &c.

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TO THE
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ALL civiliz'd Nations have ever had special Regard to carry on convenient Highways, from one noted Town to another ; without which, it were almost impossible for those Communities to subsist, or for Men to live much above the Degree of Beasts. The indispensable Use of them is so very obvious to every rational Creature, that to undertake to discourse of it, would be thought no less than superfluous and impertinent. There are few, who have ever stirr'd any Distance from the Place of their Nativity ; but must at one Time or other have been made sensible, by Experience,

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ence, of the Danger and Trouble occasion'd by ill Roads ; and those who have travell'd into remoter Parts, through Deserts, and over Mountains, where there is no certain Track, can give an Account how dismal it is to be expos'd to such Uncertainties, and run the Hazard of losing their Way, of falling from Precipices, of being stuck in Morasses, and of a thousand other Mischiefs they are expos'd to, whose Misfortune it is to have no certain Highway to follow. It is very unaccountable, that among so many Authors, as have handled almost every Subject that can be thought of, there is scarce one to be found in *English*, that has ever attempted to treat of this ; which, rightly consider'd, is scarce inferior to any of the noblest and most useful. It is not intended to rob any Man of the Reputation of his Labours ; several of our Historians have lightly touch'd upon the *Roman Ways*, and *Burton* has deservedly gain'd Esteem by his

his learned Commentary upon *Antoninus's* Itinerary; yet all this goes no farther than the Roads made by the ancient *Romans* within this Island.

The Design of this Work is a Compleat History of Highways, beginning with the remotest Antiquity, as far as ancient Authors can carry us, and deducing it down to this present Time; and that not only in *Britain*, but throughout all Nations, that can furnish any Thing that is curious and remarkable to the Purpose. Therefore to the end the Reader may conceive some true Notion of what is intended in the Prosecution of this Work, it is thought fit in this Place, to give him a previous Abstract of the Heads of its Contents, to the end he may be sensible of what Use, and how Entertaining this Undertaking is like to prove; and that tho' it may, at first Sight, appear remote from what concerns his own Nation, he may be convinc'd there is nothing in it but what is proper for every cu-

rious Person to know, and that he shall find the Antiquities of his own Country fully set down in their proper Places; and in the Conclusion, so ample a Relation of all Things relating particularly to the Roads of *Great Britain*, as it is not question'd will give him full Satisfaction. All History ought to begin with Antiquity, and descend orderly to the present Times, and all those Things to be observ'd in it, tho' never so remote, which properly come under the Subject treated of: This is the Method we shall observe, and now proceed directly to the above-mention'd Heads of the Contents.

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Note, That the following Parts of this Work will be illustrated with Two Maps, one of the Ancient and one of the Present Roads of *Great Britain*, where those Roads are particularly describ'd: As also, with some useful and curious Cuts.

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The General
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 OF
Highways.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the singular Care of the *Romans* in paving the Highways throughout their whole Empire.

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| <p>1. <i>That the Roman Magistrates were diligent Promoters of many Structures for the publick Good.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Their great Spirit and Industry in making of Highways.</i></p> <p>3. <i>The Carthaginians the first Inventers of Paving.</i></p> | <p>4. <i>Of the Highways still in Being, which were pav'd by the ancient Romans, both in Italy, and in the other Provinces.</i></p> <p>5. <i>The Names of the said Roads or Highways in the Roman History and Laws.</i></p> |
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1. **N**EVER any Princes or Magistrates shou'd so much Zeal for the publick Good of their Subjects and People, or were more curious in adorning and enriching their City, than the Princes and Magistrates
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of the ancient City of *Rome*, as plainly appears by the vast Number of Temples, *Circi*, Theatres, Amphitheatres, Squares, Palaces, Baths, Aqueducts, and other stately Structures, which have never been so magnificent for Architecture, or so numerous, in any other City in the World.

2. In the Infancy of the *Roman* Commonwealth, when Virtue, Honesty, Poverty and Parsimony were in Vogue, those ancient *Romans* who were chosen to Employments and Dignities in the Republick, did not so much addict themselves to gather Wealth, and enrich themselves, or those that came after them, but rather made the Honour of their City, and the Conveniency of the People, their principal Care: Yet if ever any Thing was a Demonstration of their Magnanimity, and their Zeal for the publick Good, it must needs be the Grandeur and Magnificence of the Highways, which they caus'd to be pav'd throughout all *Italy*, to render the Access to their City the more easy to all that resorted to it, and by that Means to furnish it with all Sorts of Necessaries and Conveniencies for the Subsistence of so great a Multitude as flock'd from all Parts to make its Residence there.

3. *S. Isidorus* informs us, That the *Carthaginians* were the first that contriv'd to strengthen, to secure, and to consolidate the Roads with Stones and Flints knit together with Sand, and as it were fasten'd by Masonry on the Surface of the Earth, which we in one Word call Paving; and that in Imitation of them, the *Romans* fell to paving the Highways almost throughout all the then known World. These are his Words, *Lib. 15. Originum, cap. ult.* The *Carthaginians* are said to be the first that pav'd the Ways; afterwards the *Romans* did the same throughout almost all the World, to make the Roads straight, and to keep the Multitude out of Idleness.

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4. For it is not only in *Italy*, but in all the Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, that we find even to this Day some great Roads made by Art, secur'd within by Abundance of Rubbish, gross Stuff, Morter, Lime and Sand; some of them pav'd with large square Flags, and others massy without, as being of Flint and small Gravel, rais'd upon the adjoining Earth, and carry'd on with a long Ridge across Mountains and Valleys, vast Plains, Woods and Marshes, to a wonderful Extent.

5. These are the Ways or Roads which the *Roman History* and Laws call *Vias Consulares*, *Prætorias*, *Regias*, *Militares*, *Solemnes*, *Aggeres publicos*, and by other Names we shall speak of hereafter. These are the same we call in *England* the *Roman Ways*, and in other Countries have receiv'd Names according to their several Languages.

CHAP. II.

Of the Dignity of those who have been appointed Overseers of the Highways.

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| <p>1. <i>That the Care of the Roads is worthy of the supreme Magistrates.</i></p> <p>2. <i>The Kings of the Lacedæmonians did, and the Kings of France do now, look after the Highways.</i></p> | <p>3. <i>Epaminondas chosen Overseer of the Highways at Thebes.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Augustus Cæsar chosen for the same Employment at Rome.</i></p> |
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1. **I**T is a Care worthy of the supreme Magistrates in every Government, to keep the Highways in such Repair that the People may travel with Safety and

L. 1 §. Summa
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and Conveniency ; and for this Reason, in many Places the overseeing and looking to the Roads, as well within the Towns as without them, has been committed to the most eminent Persons and highest in Dignity.

Herodotus in Erato.

L'Oiseau in his Book des Seigneuries, cap. 9.

2. The *Lacedemonians* appropriated this Employment to their Kings, as a Branch of their Prerogative. So in *France* to this Day the Overseeing and Management of the Roads belongs only to the King, who delegates that Care and Employment to his *Grand Voyer*, or Surveyor of the Highways, and he in what relates to this Business represents the King's Person, having full Power to take away, change, enlarge or lessen the Roads, as he shall think most for the publick Good.

Petrarch, lib. de optima Administratione Reip.

3. Certain *Thebans* one Day made it their Business to cause *Epaminondas* to be chosen Overseer of the Highways, thinking thereby to lessen and affront him, bestowing at the same Time the greatest Employments in the Commonwealth on other Persons of less Worth ; but he answer'd those who brought him the News : *I will so order it, that the Meanness of that Employment shall not be so prejudicial to me, as the Dignity of my Person shall be advantageous and honourable to it.* Which happen'd accordingly, for from that Time forward the said Post was never given to any but the chief Citizens of *Thebes*.

Dio, lib. 15. informs us, That when the *Roman* Empire was at its highest Pitch of Glory, Splendor and Majesty, the Work of the Highways was in such Esteem, that the People of *Rome* thought they did *Augustus Cæsar* a great Honour in electing him Overseer and Surveyor of the Highways near and about the City of *Rome* ; and that this mighty Emperor

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peror having accepted of the Employment, the better to discharge it, chose for his Deputies Persons of Prætorian Dignity, whom he constituted over the Works of the said Highways, assigning each of them two Lictors, like Serjeants, to see their Orders obey'd. *Tunc autem ipse Viarum quæ sunt circa Romam Curator constitutus, Milliarium aureum, quod vocatur, fecit, quique Viis muniendis præessent, Prætorios Viros suffecit, qui binis Lictoribus uterentur.* Thus we see, that the greatest Persons have not disdain'd in any City or Commonwealth soever to take Charge of the Works of the Streets in Towns, and Highways in the Country; which has been most observable in the City of Rome, where the Charge of overseeing those Works was ever committed to Men of Quality, and the chief Officers and Magistrates in the Commonwealth, as shall be made out more particularly in the following Chapters.

C H A P. III.

Of the Roman Magistrates who were employ'd to make or to repair the Highways both in the City and Country.

1. That several Magistrates were employ'd about the Work of the Highways.
2. As the Censors.
3. Then the Consuls and Tribunes of the People.
4. Then other Magistrates and Officers.
5. The Ædiles were appointed to look to the Pavement of Rome, and adjacent Parts.
6. The Ædiles of Athens, call'd Astynomoi, had the same Thing in Charge.
7. So the Sheriffs of Towns and Cities in France.
8. The Quæstors have been employ'd to look to the Pavement.
9. Afterwards Quatuorviri, or four Overseers, were instituted at Rome to take Care of the Pavement of the City.
10. How those were increas'd to six, two of which were afterwards suppress'd.
11. Few Instances of these Overseers in History, but many to be found in Inscriptions on Stones.
12. That the said Overseers were Men of Note.

1. **T**HE Roman History informs us, That the Care of making new Highways, or of repairing the old, was not always committed to the same Sort of Magistrates, but rather to several Officers, according to the Diversity of Times; some of whom look'd only to the Works in the City, and the Commission of the others extended only to the Country; and a third Sort over both City and Country at the same Time.

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2. The first that ever had Charge of overseeing the Work of the Roads as ordinary Magistrates, were the Censors, whose Power extended both to City and Country. As for what relates to the City, Cicero, lib. 3. de Legib. mentions a Law of the Twelve Tables which testifies it, where among others are these Words: *Censores Urbis Vias, Aquas, Aerarium, Vectigalia tuentor.* "The City Censors shall maintain or look to the Roads, Waters, Treasury and Taxes." For Works common both to City and Country, we have the *Via Appia*, or *Appian Way*, which is one of the great Streets in the City of Rome, and a Road of the same Name reaching from Rome to Capua, the Work of *Appius*, call'd the Blind, who caus'd them to be made when he was Censor, and gave his Name to them both. In that same Quality *Flaccus* and *Albinus* were the first that publickly contracted for the Work of the Highways, that is, for paving with Flint or Brick within Rome, and gravelling in the Country. The same may be said of the *Claudian*, *Cassian*, and other Ways, made by Men of noble Families whilst they were Censors.

Jul. Frontinus de Aquaduct. lib. 1.

Livius Annal. lib. 41.

3. As for the Highways abroad in the Country, the Care of paving them was not so absolutely in the Censors, but that several other Magistrates put their Hands to them, as the Consuls and Tribunes of the People. Of Consuls, *Flaminius* and *Lepidus*, who made the Ways call'd by the Names of (a) *Via Flaminia* and *Emilia*, during their Consulships. Of Tribunes of the People, (b) *C. Gracchus*, and long after him, (c) *Curio*, who being of *Cæsar's* Faction, to gain the Affection of the People, promoted the passing of that Law concerning

(a) *Strab. lib. 5. Geog.*

Festus Pompeius in Verbo Flaminius Circus.

(b) *Plutarch. in Gracchis.*

(c) *Appianus, lib. 2. Bellorum civilium.*

(d) *Lib. 8. Ep. fam.
mil. Epist. 6.*

Pavements, and pressing Men for the Work, which (d) *Curius*, writing to *Cicero*, calls *Legem viariam*.

4. But the Number of the Provinces of the Empire increasing, and with them the Business of the Magistrates, it became necessary to commit the Care of the Highways to other inferior Magistrates, or to transfer it to certain Commissioners, most of whom were of the best and noblest Families in *Rome*.

5. As for what related to the Streets and publick Places of the City, and adjacent Parts, the People gave that in Charge to the *Ædiles*, together with the overseeing of Provisions, and of all Buildings both publick and private: And though they took the Name of *Ædiles* from the Buildings, *quod Ædes sacras & profanas procurarent*, as *Varro* says, *lib. 4. de Lingua Latina*, because they had the Care of sacred and profane Buildings; yet it is certain that the looking to and repairing of the Pavement made a considerable Part of their Employment; for it was their Duty to cause the Streets of the City, and the Outlets from them, to be pav'd, levell'd, and kept in good Order; and to make Bridges where it was necessary, that the Fall of the Water might not prejudice the neighbouring Houses; to take Care that the Walls and Front of all Houses next the Street, which were like to fall, should be pull'd down and repair'd, to prevent their doing Mischief by their Fall to People as they pass'd by, and to oblige the Owners to it by fining them; to hinder any breaking up or endamaging the Pavement without their Leave, either in order to build, or to fix any Thing that might incommode the Publick; to forbid any Thing being set without the Shops which might stop the Way; to prohibit fighting in the Street, or throwing out of dead Beasts, Dung,

or

of Highways.

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or other Filth, as we read in the Law, *D. de Via publica, & Itinere publico reficiendo.*

6. This Law is agreeable to that of *Plato, lib. 6. de Repub.* who directs that the Care and Government of the Streets and Buildings in all Towns and their Suburbs shall belong to the *Ædiles*, or Sheriffs, whom he calls *Astunómors*.

Glossarium in Capitul. Caroli magni.

7. From hence came those they call in *France*, *Voyers*, and we, Overseers of the Highways; and the Directors and Surveyors of the Paving of Towns, commonly called in *France*, *Eschevins*, from *Tbois*, an ancient *French* Word, signifying Judge or Surveyor, with us Sheriffs; for these in many Things resemble the *Ediles Curules* of *Rome*, as having Charge of the good Government, as well in Regard of Provisions and Trades, as the Pavement, which are the three Points on which the common Government of Towns depends.

8. The *Quæstores* had some Share in this Management under the Emperor *Claudius*; for *Suetonius*, in *Claudio cap. 24.* writes, that he discharg'd them of it, to give them the Government of the *Gladiators*. *Collegio Quæstorum pro Stratura Viarum, Gladiatorum Munus injunxit.*

9. After the *Ædiles*, Four Persons were appointed on whom the Care of the Streets and Pavement should rest; and these, from their Number, were called, *Quatuor Viri curandarum Viarum*, of whose Institution *Tit. Pomponius* makes Mention; *L. Necessarium §. eodem Tempore D. de Origine Juris. Eodem Tempore & constituti sunt quatuor Viri, qui Curam Viarum agerent.* At the same Time Four Men were appointed to take Care of the Ways. As for the Time of their Institution, he sets it down soon after that of the *Prætor*, who had Charge of foreign Affairs, called *Prætor peregrinus*.

regrinus, which happen'd a little after the Year 510 from the Foundation of *Rome*.

10. These Four Overseers of the Ways seem to be the same that *Varro* calls *Viocuros*, a *Viarum Cura*: But they being too few for the Works in the City, the Suburbs, and the neighbouring Places, their Number was increased to Six, Two of whom had in Charge what was to be done without the Compass of the City, in the Avenues to it. This we may gather from the 54th Book of *Dio*, where he speaks of certain *Roman* Magistrates, who formerly were 26 in Number, and in *Augustus's* Time were reduced to 20, for which Reason they were called *Viginti Viri*. In that Place he says, That of those 20 Men, 3 were appointed Judges in Cases of Life and Death, 3 others Governors of the Mint, 4 to take Care of the Streets, and 10 Judges in those Cases which are referr'd by Lot to the *Centum Viri*, or Hundred Men. Then he adds the Reason why the ancient Number of 26 was then

Dio Cassius,
lib. 55. reduc'd to 20; which is, because the Two who had the Care of the Ways without the City, and the Four that used to be sent Abroad into the Country in *Italy*, were quite suppress'd. Now those Two that had the Roads without the City in Charge could not have been suppress'd, unless they had been instituted before.

11. We find but very little of these Four Overseers of the *Roman* Streets in History, but there are still several ancient Stones and Inscriptions that mention them, and prove, That these Four Officers were in Repute in *Rome* for above 360 Years, having continued in the Dignity of their Employment till the Time of the Emperor *Adrian*, who reign'd in the Year 871 from the Building of *Rome*, as appears by the following Inscription found in *Onuphrius Panvinus*, in *Urbe Rom. Pag. 65.*

IMP. CÆSARI DIVI TRAJANI PARTHICI
FIL. DIVI NERVÆ NEP. TRAJANO. HADRIANO.
AUG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POTEST. COS. II. PP.
III. VIR. VIAR.
Q. TAMUDIUS Q. F. PALAT.
GRACUS VIENNA.
L. AURELIUS L. F. OUF.
TYRANNUS INTERAMN.
NAHAR. TI. JULIUS. TI. F. STEL.
VERECUNDIANUS BONONIA.
Q. TAMUDIUS SEX. F. ARRIUS
REATE. FAG. CUR.

12. Now we must not think that those who were chosen to these Employments were Men of low Condition, since it appears by several ancient Inscriptions, That some have not disdain'd to take upon them this Name, and to perform the Function under the Emperors, after having been honoured with the prime Posts in the Commonwealth. So the Senate, by the Consent and Authority of *Trajan*, decreed the triumphal Ornaments, and erected a Statue at the Expence of the Publick, to a certain great Nobleman of *Rome*, who had been Prætor, Tribune of the People, and Quæstor, and who for his last Title is called III. *Vir Viarum curandarum*, as appears by the Decree of the Senate, which is in the following Form, but wants the Beginning, taken out of *Onuphrius Panvinus*, in *Roma*, pag. 66.

DACICUS. GENTEM DACORUM. ET.
 REGEM. DECEBALUM. BELLO SUPERAVIT.
 SUB. EODEM. DUCE. LEGATUS. PR. PR. AB.
 EODEM. DONATO. HASTIS. PURIS. VIII.
 VEXILLIS. VIII. CORONIS. MURALIBUS. II.
 VALLARIBUS. II. CLASSICIS. II. AURATIS. II.
 LEG. PR. PR. PROVINC. BELGICÆ. LEG. I.
 MINERVÆ. CANDIDATO. CÆSARIS. IN.
 PRÆTURA. ET. IN. TRIBUNATU. PLEB.
 QUÆSTORI. PROVINCIAE. ACHAIÆ.
 III. VIRO. VIARUM. CURANDARUM.
 HUIC. SENATUS. AUCTORE. IMP.
 TRAJANO. AUGUSTO. GERMANICO. DACICO.
 TRIUMPHALIA. ORNAMENT.
 DECREVIT. STATUAMQ; PECUN. PUBLIC.
 PONENT. CENSUIT.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Overseers appointed for the Highways without the City, and of the Number of them.

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| <p>1. The Quatuor Viri were for the City, and the Curatores Viarum for the Country.</p> <p>2. Of the Office of the Overseers of the Highways, and what the Mancipes were.</p> <p>3. The Second Part of the Office of the said Overseers.</p> | <p>4. Corbulo's Complaint that the Highways went to Ruin.</p> <p>5. Inscriptions on Stones which mention the Undertakers called Mancipes.</p> <p>6. The Third Part of the Duty of the Overseers of the Highways.</p> <p>7. That their Number was uncertain, and what Roads they had in Charge.</p> |
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1. **A**S the Multitude of Business increasing, and taking up the Magistrates who had it in Charge to look after the Paving the Streets within Rome, made a Necessity of creating the Four Overseers we spoke of but now; so the Censors, Consuls, and other Magistrates, who at first took Care of the Highways in the Country, being overburden'd with other Affairs, they were forc'd to institute certain extraordinary Overseers, called *Curatores Viarum*, whom the Greeks call'd *Odon Epimeletes*, or *Amphodarches*, by some named *Viaculi*, to whom was committed much of the Authority and Power the Censors had before relating to the Highways. I call them extraordinary Overseers, because they were created by the People occasional-

Scaliger in Castigationib. ad Fest. Pompeium, ubi Vicum male pro Via posuit in Verbo Viator.

ly,

ly, as the Works on the said Ways required it, and were not settled in ordinary till the Time of *Augustus*, as shall appear hereafter.

2. It was their Business to set out to Farm the Toll paid on the said Highways and elsewhere, which was laid up to keep them in Repair, and to receive and dispose of the said Moneys. The Farmers to whom those Tolls were adjudg'd, were of the Number of those they call'd *Manceps*, because they by lifting up their Hands signify'd, That they consented to the Magistrates adjudging the Tolls in Favour of them, and promis'd to be answerable to the People for the Sum agreed on. *Pestus Pompeius* expresses it thus, *Manceps dicitur, quod Manu capiat, vel, qui quid a Populo erit, conducitve; quia Manu sublata, significat se Auctorem Emptionis esse.* *Manceps* is so called, because he takes with his Hand; or he that buys or farms any Thing of the People, because holding up his Hand, he denotes he is the Undertaker of that Purchase. Which *Asconius Pedianus* expresses more fully thus in

*Commentario in
Orationem Cic.
de Divinatione.*

English: *Manceps* are Romans, and the chief of the Farmers, who for their Profit farm the Tythes or Toll, or the common Pasture Lands, whose Contract is called *Scriptura*, or a Writing or Deed. For these Men run all Hazards in raising what is due from the Allies or Confederates, and represent the Commonwealth, making their own Advantage of that Farm.

3. It also belong'd to these Overseers to set out the Works of the Highways by publick Outcry to the lowest Undertakers: Which being finish'd, they were to approve or disallow of them, and to cause what was amiss in them to be amended. The Undertakers of these Works were called *Redemptores*, and it

*Lib. de Con-
ditionibus Agro-
rum.*

is of these Undertakers *Siculus Flaccus* speaks, when he says, There are Highways and Royal Roads, *Quæ Curatores*

ac-

accipiunt, & per Redemptores manuntur, which Overseers take Charge of, and are made good by Undertakers.

4. These Undertakers were also called *Mancipes*, as well as the Farmers of the Tolls. Of these Undertakers, together with the Overseers who had the Disposal of the Works of the Highways, it was that *Corbulo* complain'd in the Days of *Tiberius*, loudly objecting, That through their Fraud, and the Negligence of the Magistrates, the Roads of *Italy* were so broken, that there was no passing or travelling on them; which made him undertake the Care of them himself. But many of the Overseers and Undertakers fared the worse; for *Corbulo*, abusing his Power, ruin'd some of them in their Fortunes and Reputation, selling their Estates and Patrimonies to the fairest Bidder. All which *Tacitus* tells us in these few Words: *The same Corbulo Lib. 3. Annal. exclaiming, that several Roads throughout Italy were broken and impassable, through the Fraud of the Mancipes or Undertakers, and Negligence of the Magistrates, willingly undertook the Management of that Affair; which yet proved not so beneficial to the Publick, as it was destructive to many, on whose Estates and Fortunes he tyranniz'd, condemning and exposing them to Sale. Dion Cassius says, It was in the Reign of Caligula that this Misfortune befel Lib. 59 & 60. both the Overseers of the Highways and the Undertakers; and that Corbulo found out this wicked Method of ruining those People, contrary to Justice, to supply the Emperor's Prodigality; that for the present he was rewarded, Caligula making him Consul; but that under Claudius, Caligula's Successor, this Cruelty and Injustice turn'd to his Shame, and he was condemn'd to make good, out of his own Money, Part of what had been taken from those Overseers and*

and Undertakers, the Remainder being restor'd to them out of the publick Treasury.

5. There are still some ancient Stones, on which Mention is made of these Undertakers of the Highways; as for Instance in this, which is the Tombstone provided by one *Herennia Priscilla* for her Husband *Cn. Cornelius*, an Undertaker for the *Appian Highway*. *Onupbrius Panvinus in sua Roma, pag. 121.*

D. M. S.
CN. CORNELIO.
CN. F. SAR.
MUSÆO.
MANCIPI. VIÆ. APPIÆ.
HERENNIA PRISCILLA.
CONJUGI.
BENE. MERENTI.
FECIT.

6. In fine, as there were some whose Duty it was to maintain the Highways for a certain Length and Breadth, so the Overseers were obliged to compel them to it, and make them apply themselves to the Work; as may be gather'd out of *Cicero's Oration, pro M. Fonteio*. As also to punish the Farmers of the Revenues consign'd to the Works of the Highways, if they levy'd any Moneys beyond what was assign'd them; or else to turn them over to the *Prætor* of the City of *Rome*, for him to do Justice on them. *Julius*

*In M. Antonii
Philosopho.*

Capitolinus gives us this Account, when speaking of *Marcus Aurelius*, he says, Besides, he gave in Charge to the Overseers of Districts and Highways, that they should either punish those that exacted any Thing of any Man beyond the Taxes, or send them to the Governour of the City to be punish'd.

7. As for the Number of Overseers, it was never fix'd, no more than that of the Highways they were entrusted to look after: The Number increased as Occasion requir'd: Besides, they were commission'd to repair one, or more, according to the Leisure they had, or the Industry and Diligence they used. This is better known by Stones than by Books; for there are still at *Rome*, and in several other Parts of *Italy*, many Stones with Inscriptions mentioning these Overseers. By some of these it appears, that some Overseers were employ'd in the Repairs but of one Highway; as in the three following.

I.

L. RANIO. OPTAT. C. V. COS.
CURATORI. REIP. MEDIOLANENSIIUM.
CURAT.

REIP. NOLANORUM. PRO. COS.
PROVINCIÆ.

NARBONENSIS. LEGATO. AUG. ET.
JURIDICO.

ASTYRIÆ. GRÆCIÆ. CURATORI. VIÆ.
SALARIÆ. CURATORI. REIP. URVINATIUM.
METAURENSIUM. LEGATO. PROVINCIÆ.
ASIE. PRÆTORI. TRIB. PLEBEI.
QUÆSTORI. PROVINCIÆ. SICILIÆ.

Onuph.
Panvinus
in sua
Roma,
p. 121.

II.

CN. MUNATIUS. M. F. PAL.
AURELIUS. BASSUS.
PROC. AUG.

PRÆF. FAB. PRÆF. COH. III.
SAGITTARIOR. PRÆF. COH. ITERUM. II.
ASTURUM. CENSITOR. CIVIUM.
ROMANORUM. COLONIÆ. VICTRI
CENSIS. QUÆ. EST. IN. BRITANNIA
CAMALODUNI. CURATOR.

Idem;
p. 87.

C

VIÆ

The General History

*VIÆ NOMENTANÆ. PATRONUS.
EJUSDEM.
MUNICIPI. FLAMEN. PARPETUUS.
DUUM. VIRALI. POTESTATE.
ÆDILIS. DEDICATOR. IIII.*

III.

Idem,
p. 98.

*L. ANNIO. FABIANO.
III. VIRO. CAPITALI.
TRIB. LEG. II. AUG.
QUÆST. URBAN. TR. PLEB.
PRÆTORI. CURATORI.
VIÆ. LATINÆ. LEG.
LEG. X. FRETENTIS.
LEG. AUG. PROPR. PRO.
VINC. DAC. COL. VLP.
TRAJANA. ZARMAT.*

Thus we shall see hereafter, that *Cæsar* was made Overseer of the Appian Way; Thermus, of the Flaminian; Cornutus Tertullus, of the Æmilian.

Sometimes these Overseers were appointed over two Ways, as appears by this following Inscription.

Idem,
Ibid.
p. 71.

*L. OVINIO. L. F. QUIR.
RUSTICO. CORNELIANO.
COS. DES. PRÆT. INTER.
TRIBUNICIUS. AD. LECTO.
CURAT. VIÆ. FLAMINIÆ.
LEC. LEG. VII. MYS. INFERIOR.
CURAT. VIÆ. TIBURTINÆ.
CURAT. REIP. RICINENSIS.
RUSTICA. OVINIA.
CORNELIANA. FILIA.
PATRI. PIENTISSIMO.*

There

There have also been others who had the Care of three, four, and more ; which this next Inscription will make out.

C. OPPIO. C. F. VE. L.
SABINO. JULIO. NEPOTI.
M. VIBIO. SOLEMNI. SEVERO.
COS.
ADLECTO. A. SACRATISSIMO. IMP.
HADRIANO. AUGUSTO.
INTER. TRIBUNICIOS. PR. PEREGR.
CANDIDATO. AUG.
LEGATO. PROV. BÆTHICÆ. CUR. VIAR.
CLODIÆ. ANNIÆ. CASSIÆ.
CIMINÆ. TRIUM. TRAJANARUM.
ET. AMERINÆ. LEG. LEGION. XI.
CL. P. F. LEG. AUG. PR. PR.
PROVINCIAE. LUSITANIAE.
PRO. COS. PROV. BÆTHICÆ.
PATRONO. COL.
LEONAS. LIB. ADCENSUS. PATRONI.
ET. IN. DEDIC. SATUÆ.
COLONIS. CENAM. DEDIT.

C H A P. V.

Of the Worth and Dignity of those Persons who were set over the Highways, by the Name of *Curatores Viarum*, or Overseers of the Highways.

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| <p>1. <i>Inscriptions on Stones prove the Dignity of the Overseers of the Highways.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Julius Cæsar and Thermanus were particular Overseers of certain Highways.</i></p> <p>3. <i>This Employment was so honourable, that Friends rejoic'd at it.</i></p> <p>4. <i>When the Employment of Overseers of the High-</i></p> | <p><i>ways was made a particular Office.</i></p> <p>5. <i>The Care of the Highways in the Provinces, belonging to the Presidents, Consuls and Prætors.</i></p> <p>6. <i>What Magistrates the Curatores Vicorum were.</i></p> <p>7. <i>The Difference between the Curatores Vicorum and Viarum.</i></p> |
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I. **T**H O' no other Use could be made of the Inscriptions on Stones above-mention'd, at least they will serve to make known the Dignity of those that were appointed Overseers of the Works on the Highways, by the Name of *Curatores Viarum*: For it appears they were Men honour'd with the best Employments in the Commonwealth; and as much above the four establish'd Overseers of the Pavement of the City, as the Country Roads exceeded the Streets in Bulk, Length and great Expence.

2. *Julius*

2. *Julius Cæsar* was one of the first that was honour'd with the Dignity of such an Overseer, as *Plutarch* informs us, *In Julio Cæsare.* who says, He was Overseer of the *Appenine Way*; and that, besides the publick Money he laid out there, he disburs'd a very great Sum of his own; which was one of the Occasions of raising him so high in the Esteem of the People, to whom such Works were always very acceptable. Thus *Cicero* writes, that if another great Roman Lord, call'd *Thermus*, could finish the Repairs of the *Flaminian Way*, whereof he was appointed Overseer, it would, in his Opinion, be the sure Way for him to be chosen Consul and Collegue in that Dignity to *Julius Cæsar*. *Thermus*, says he, is Overseer of the *Flaminian Way*; which, when finish'd, I shall easily conclude him Consul with *Julius Cæsar*. *Epist. 1. Lib. 1. ad Atticum.*

3. This Employment was so honourable, that as soon as a Man was preferr'd to it, his Friends made Rejoycings, as for a Thing that would redound to his great Commendation; for as much as the People and the Emperors rais'd none to it but Men of Worth, and such as had given Proofs of their Diligence and Industry in other Posts and Offices. We see *Pliny* the Younger was overcome with Joy, when he heard that *Cornutus Tertullus* was appointed Overseer of the *Emilian Way*, as he testifies himself, writing to *Pontius*, in these Words; *I had retir'd into the Country, when I receiv'd the News that Cornutus Tertullus had the Charge of the Æmilian Way: I cannot express how much I rejoyc'd both for his sake and my own.*

Thus *Papinius Statius* reckons it among the honourable Titles of *Victorius Marcellus*, a Man of Pretorial Dignity, that he was by *Domitian* chosen Overseer of the *Latin Way*. The same he does in the Person of *Plotius* *Lib. 4. Sylvarum ad Marcellum.*

Plotius Grippus, whom he calls, *A Youth of a higher Rank*; on whom the same Emperor had bestow'd two of the best and most honourable Employments in the Empire, making him *Commissary of Provisions*, and Overseer of the Highways.

4. These Employments before *Augustus Cæsar*, were not perpetual; but given for a Time, and by special Commission, according as Necessity requir'd: But at length, this Emperor having instituted and created several Employments to be perpetual Offices, that he might gratify so many more Persons, and give them a Share in the Administration of publick Affairs, he added to the Degree of Standing Magistrates, a certain Number of Overseers of the

In August. cap. 37. Ways. Which *Suetonius* delivers thus: *And to the end that more might have a Share in the Management of the Commonwealth*, *Augustus* invented new Offices; the Care of the Publick Works, of the Ways, of the Waters, of the Channel of Tyber, of the Common Sewers, &c.

5. But it is to be observ'd, that all we have hitherto said of *Censors*, of *Edils*, of *Quatuorvirs*, and of Overseers of the Highways, is to be understood only of the Ways of *Rome* and *Italy*: For the Highways of the Provinces, were Part of the Charge of the Consuls, Prætors and Presidents, who were there Governors, and of those commission'd by them, as shall be declar'd in its Place.

6. But before we conclude this Discourse *de Curatoribus Viarum*, or of the Overseers of the Highways, it is by the by to be observ'd, that they differ'd very much from those they call'd *Curatores Vicorum*, tho' one of the Expositors of *Statius* confounds them in the Place above quoted. These last may be call'd Overseers of Wards, being a Parcel of Houses within certain Streets; for the City of *Rome* was divided into 14 Regions or Parts, and each of them into several Quarters or Wards, whose

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whose Commissaries were appointed over them for several Purposes, but most especially to take Care of Fires; for which End they had a certain Number of Men allotted them, who were before subject to the *Ædiles*.

7. Thus it appears that the Overseers of the Wards were employ'd in the City, and those of the Highways in the Country, throughout the several Parts of *Italy*. There was also this farther Difference betwixt them, that the former were chosen out of the common Sort; and the latter, as has been shown, among the noblest Families, and most remarkable Citizens. That the former were not created till the Year 747, after the Building of *Rome*, in the Consulship of *Tiberius* and *Piso*, when *Rome* was divided into 14 greater Parts or Regions; and the latter were made perpetual in the Days of *Augustus*, having been long before created for a Time, or upon Occasion. *Dion* will testify all that has been said concerning the Overseers of Quarters, or Wards, in this only Text of his 55th Book: *But there were Overseers, or Wardens, or Masters of Wards appointed out of the Commonalty, who had the Privilege granted them of wearing such Robes as Magistrates do; and having two Lictors to attend them upon certain Days, in those Places over which they were appointed; and they had the Slaves which were before with the Ædiles, for putting out of Fires; and the whole City was divided into 14 Regions, which were distributed by Lot for these Overseers to take Charge of them.*

C H A P. VI.

The General Division of Highways of the Empire.

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| <p>1. <i>The General Division of the Lands of the Empire in the Days of Augustus.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Italy and the Provinces were at that Time and afterwards set in Opposition to one another.</i></p> <p>3. <i>Italy divided into Regions, not into Provinces.</i></p> | <p>4. <i>The General Division of the Roads into those of Italy and of the Provinces.</i></p> <p>5. <i>Two Differences betwixt them both, the First consisting in the Time.</i></p> <p>6. <i>The Second Difference consists in the Magistrates that made them.</i></p> |
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1. **U**nder the Emperor *Augustus* and his Successors, till *Constantine the Great*, all the Roman Dominions were generally divided into Two Parts. One of them was *Italy*, containing all the Country from the Streight of *Sicily* as far as *Istria* and the *Alps*: The other comprehended all without *Italy*, vulgarly known by the Name of the Provinces.

2. During all that Time, these two Names of *Italy* and the Provinces were made use of as opposite, so that what was said of the one, was deny'd in respect of the others; as by a Law of *Severus* and *Antoninus*, which is the 2 C. de *Excusat. Tutorum*, the Administration of *Italick* Goods is opposite to that of the Goods of the Provinces.

3. This Difference was the Cause why, in the General Division *Augustus* made of the Empire, he did not divide *Italy* into Provinces, but into Regions. It is true, that which the Romans call'd the *Cisalpine Gaul*,

Gaul, *Liguria*, and *Venice*, were once reckon'd among the Provinces, but that was under the popular Government of the Commonwealth when *Italy* had Two different Sorts of Bounds: The First, the Natural; and the Second, that which was appointed by Law. For Nature bounded *Italy* by the Sea, which encompasses it on the South, East, and West, and by the *Alps* on the North; but the People of *Rome* call'd only that *Italy* which is surrounded by the Sea from the River *Rubicon*, next the *Adriatick* Sea, to the River *Arno*; or, according to others, the *Varo*, which falls into the *Tyrrhene* Sea. By this last Limitation, all that the *Romans* call'd the *Cisalpine Gaul*, with the Countries of the *Ligurians* and *Venetians*, was out of *Italy*, all which being by *Augustus Cæsar* rank'd among the *Italians*, and the Ancient Bounds by Law reduc'd to the Natural, he divided those Lands into Regions, like the other Parts of *Italy*; and it was then that all Countries in general, which were without the *Alps*, were understood by the Name of Provinces in regard to *Italy* alone.

4. Now though from the Days of *Constantine* both *Italy* and the rest of the Empire were variously divided, yet we will stick to this Partition, for as much as it suffices for the General Distribution of our Highways, which we shall therefore divide into Two Parts, One containing the Highways of *Italy*, and the Other those of the Provinces.

5. There is a considerable Difference betwixt them, which chiefly consists in Two Points, viz. the Time when they were made, and the Magistrates who made them. As for the Time, to take it in the main, the Highways of *Italy*, as being nearest to the Capital City, were the first made, and those of the Provinces last. Those of *Italy*, whilst the People kept the Sovereignty in *Rome*, and till the Empire of *Augustus Cæsar*, and those of the Provinces, after the
Sovereign

Sovereign Power of the People was put into the Hands of *Augustus*. I said, to take the Time in the main designedly, because some Ways will be found made in the Provinces before the Constitution of Emperors, and antecedent, as to Time, to some Roads in *Italy* made there by the Emperors, of which we shall speak hereafter; but these are so few in regard of the others, that no great Account is to be made of them in regard of those which compose our General Division.

6. As for the Magistrates, we have seen above, that the *Censors*, *Ædiles*, and Overseers of the Highways, call'd *Quatuorviri*, and *Curatores Viarum*, and even some Consuls, Prætors, Tribunes, and Emperors, have made the Highways as well in the City as in the Country in *Italy*: But the same does not hold as to the Highways in the Provinces; for they were made by the Care of the Consuls, Prætors, and other Magistrates, first sent by the People, and afterwards by the Emperors, to govern the Provinces as Lords-Lieutenants, of which we shall see Proofs in the ensuing Chapter.

C H A P. VII.

By what Magistrates the Highways in the Provinces were made.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>One Thing the Magistrates had in Charge in the Provinces, was the Care of the Highways.</i> 2. <i>Two principal Magistrates in every Province, the President and the Quæstor.</i> 3. <i>The Presidents were either Prætors or Consuls, Proprætors or Proconsuls.</i> 4. <i>Under-Officers to the Presidents, the First whereof were the Legates.</i> 5. <i>That the Presidents were appointed over the Highways in the Provinces.</i> 6. <i>Of the Power they had</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <i>of giving Commission to their Legates for that Purpose.</i> 7. <i>A Proof of what is said above, taken out of Cicero.</i> 8. <i>Highways made by the same Officers under the Emperors as under the People.</i> 9. <i>Of the Dignity of the Quæstors sent into the Provinces.</i> 10. <i>The Difference betwixt the Quæstors and the Presidents in their Employments.</i> |
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1. **A**Mong the rest of the Affairs the Magistrates in the Provinces had in Charge, that of making and repairing the Highways was none of the least, but most necessary for the marching of their Armies: Therefore I find, that before *Augustus* and his Successors had abundantly supply'd the Provinces with such Works, Necessity had taught the People's Magistrates and Governors to project some Beginnings of them.

2. But before we come to make that out, it is requisite to know what Magistrates those were, and by what

what Names distinguish'd in History. It is then to be observ'd, that in every Province there were two supreme Magistrates, who had the Management of both Civil and Military Affairs, and of the Revenues, which were, the President or Lord-Lieutenant, and the Quæstor.

3. At first the Prætors had the Quality of Lords-Lieutenants in the Provinces to govern and give Law to the People; and if Necessity required, to make War in the Name of the People of *Rome*. Hence it is that the Number of Prætors increas'd as that of the Provinces did: But if any great Disturbance, or considerable War, happen'd to break out, Consuls were sent thither, who from their first Institution were Commanders in chief, and Generals of the *Roman* Armies. In case the War was not concluded within the Year of their Command, they were after that call'd Proprætors and Proconsuls. These were the two usual Sorts of Lords-Lieutenants of Provinces, who were therefore call'd Consular or Prætorian.

4. The Consuls or Prætors, when they went into their Provinces, were attended by many Persons as Officers, Ministers and Coadjutors in the Exercise of their Employments, such as Legates, Tribunes, Centurions, Secretaries, Interpreters, &c. The most honourable of these were the Legates, importing as much as Lieutenants, or Deputies, or Counsellors, without whose Advice they undertook no Action of Moment, and whom they commission'd for the Execution of several Affairs. Sometimes they commanded their Armies, or Part of them, administred Justice, took Care of the Tributes, Taxes and Tolls; and if any Highways were to be made or mended, they were employ'd by the Consuls or Prætors.

5. It shall suffice for the present to give one Instance out of *Cicero*, who reports, that *Marcus Fonteius* having

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ving exercis'd the Post of Prætor or Lord-Lieutenant of the *Gauls*, was accus'd before the People of *Rome* of several Misdemeanors, among which one was, that he had under-hand rais'd great Sums of Money on pretence of mending and repairing the Highways, taking Money from some to exempt them from those Works, and from others for allowing of some of those Works, though they were not good and substantial: *Cicero's* Words are these: *It was also urg'd, That Marcus Fonteius had made an Advantage of the repairing of the Roads, either by not obliging the People to repair them, or not finding Fault with what was repair'd.*

Oratio pro M. Fonteio.

6. By this Accusation it appears, that the paving and making good of the Highways belong'd to the Prætor; and what follows, shows, that in case of Necessity he might give that in Charge to his Legates or Lieutenants; for *Cicero*, to evade the Charge, and remove it from *Fonteius*, says, It was not he that made those Works, but others commission'd by him, who were well known to be honest Men, and able to answer for their good Behaviour; That *Fonteius* being taken up with greater Affairs, and understanding it was one of the Cares of the Commonwealth to pave and make good a certain Highway, formerly made by *Domitius*, in *Gaul*, he gave that Commission to two of the chief Men of his Army, that is, his two Legates, *C. Annius Bellicus* and *C. Fonteius*; That these two issu'd out their Orders for the Country People to work there, and the Work being done, they allow'd and approv'd of it, without *Fonteius* being any way concern'd.

7. These are *Cicero's* own Words: *What if we can reject this Crime upon the best of Men, yet not so as to transfer the Blame on others; but to show that such Men had the Management of these Repairs as are well able to perform their Duty, and make out what they have done:*

But

But will you lay all upon M. Fonteius on the Testimony of provok'd Evidences? M. Fonteius being taken up with greater publick Affairs, and the Commonwealth being concern'd to see the Domitian Highway made good, he committed that Affair to C. Annius Bellienus and C. Fonteius, his Legates, and Men of great Worth. Accordingly they look'd to it, gave such Orders as they thought fit, answerable to their Dignity, and approv'd of what was done.

8. What had been done under the Popular State was continu'd under the Emperors, of which I shall give but one Instance out of Tacitus, who, describing Drusus Germanicus his Irruption into Germany, under the Emperor Tiberius, says, That the Waters being low, because of the Dryness of the Season, he drew after him all his Army into the Country of the Catti, a People of Germany; but that fearing the Rains and the Rising of the Waters, he left behind him L. Apronius, then his Lieutenant, and afterwards Proprætor in Germany, to pave a Highway, that might serve him in his Retreat, in case of Necessity, over the Rivers and Marshes of the Country, as he expresses it in these Words: Germanicus hastened with a light Army against the Catti, leaving L. Apronius to repair the Ways, and secure the Passes of Rivers; for the Drought and Lowness of the Rivers, which is rare in that Climate, made him hasten his Journey, which was then safe; but he fear'd the Rains and Swelling of the Rivers in his Return. Such Consuls or Legates were by Augustus Cæsar employ'd to make Highways from one End of the Empire to the other, as we shall hereafter see in particular; and therefore shall say no more in this Place, that I may speak one Word concerning the Quæstors sent with the Lords-Lieutenants into the Provinces.

9. The Quæstors were chosen yearly, like the Consuls and Prætors, and like them receiv'd what Authority they had immediately from the People, wherein

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they differ'd from the Legates, who receiv'd their Power from the Lords-Lieutenants, though in many Cases they were their Companions, and as it were Assessors and Counsellors; whereas the Quæstor was as it were Son to the Lord-Lieutenant, there being such a Connexion betwixt them, that as a Man cannot be call'd a Father unless he has a Son, so there was no Consul or Prætor in the Provinces but what had a Quæstor with him, who was generally as strictly united by Friendship to his Consul or Prætor as a Son is to his Father.

10. The Difference of their Employments was, that the Lords-Lieutenants had Power over all Controversies, whether publick or private, and the Quæstors the Management of the Revenues. As for what relates to the Highways, it was either the Lords-Lieutenants of the Provinces, or their Deputies, that made them; but the Quæstors paid the Workmen's Wages, and the Charge of Materials, by Order of the Lords-Lieutenants. The same Quæstors, as Receivers General, had the Receipt and Disbursement of the Cash arising of Taxes and Tolls, of which they gave an Account to the People; and to that Purpose had Clerks and other Officers under them, who were maintain'd at the publick Expence.

C H A P. VIII.

When the Highways of *Italy* were begun.

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| <p>1. <i>Paving was not us'd in Italy whilst there were Kings in Rome.</i></p> <p>2. <i>The Paving of Highways did not begin till 188 Years after the Expulsion of the Kings.</i></p> <p>3. <i>Claudius Appius Cæcus the first that made these Ways.</i></p> <p>4. <i>The Appian Way is both the first and the best of them all.</i></p> <p>5. <i>The second Highway in</i></p> | <p><i>Italy made by Aurelius Cotta.</i></p> <p>6. <i>The third by Flaminius.</i></p> <p>7. <i>The fourth by Æmilius.</i></p> <p>8. <i>The Censors that first publicly set out the Work of the Highways.</i></p> <p>9. <i>C. Gracchus made several noble Highways in Italy.</i></p> <p>10. <i>In the Days of Julius Cæsar, Italy was already full of pav'd Highways.</i></p> |
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1. **T**HE Romans at several Times had sundry Sorts of Governments: First the Monarchical, under Kings; next the Democratical, under Consuls; and then again the Monarchical, under the Emperors. During the first Monarchical State, no Mention is to be found of the Highways, either within the City of *Rome*, or without it, the Kings having no Knowledge of the *Carthaginians*, who were the first Inventers of Paving.

2. After the Kings were expel'd, 188 Years elaps'd before any Person undertook this Sort of Work, which did not begin till the Dominion of *Rome* had stretch'd out considerably over the neighbouring People.

3. Then,

3. Then, to facilitate the Marching of Armies, the Carriage of Goods, and the Bringing in of Provisions requisite for a People that was daily encreasing, the Magistrates of the City of Rome resolv'd to make use of the Invention of the *Carthaginians*, and to pave the greatest and most frequented Roads of *Italy*. *Appius Claudius*, surnam'd the Blind, was the first who, during his Censorship, apply'd himself to pave a great Road, which ran from *Rome* to *Capua*, and from him is still call'd *Via Appia*, *Appius's Way*. This he did in the Year 442 from the Building of *Rome*, *M. Valerius Maximus* and *P. Decius Mus* being then Consuls. So says *Julius Frontinus*, speaking of *Appius's* Aqueduct, and of this first pav'd Way: *The Appian*

Lib. 1. de Aqueductib.

Water was brought by Appius Claudius the Censor, afterwards call'd the Blind, M. Valerius Maximus and P. Decius Mus being Consuls, the 20th Year after the Samnitian War, who also took Care of paving the Highway from the Gate Capena to the City Capua. Cassiodorus also writes, that these two Works were done the same Year: M. Valerius Maximus and P. Decius being Consuls, the Road was made, and the Water brought, by Appius Claudius the Censor, which was call'd by his Name.

4. It is remarkable in this great and wonderful Highway, that as it is the first in Order of Time, so is it the chiefest in Beauty and Magnificence, whose Excellency no other later Way could attain to, either for its great Extent, or its Breadth, and Thickness of the Stones it is pav'd with, or for the Manner of their Connexion, the Art in joining them, and other Particulars, which will be mention'd in the peculiar Treatise that shall be made of the Wonders of that great and inimitable Highway.

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5. The second pav'd Way in Italy is that of Caius Aurelius Cotta, if Carolus Sigonius guesses right, who says, it was made in the Year 512 after the Building of Rome, and call'd *Via Aurelia*, or the *Aurelian Way*, from him, of which at present I can quote no other Author.

6. The next is that which from *Flaminius* is call'd *Via Flaminia*, or the *Flaminian Way*; but Authors do not agree either as to the Time or to the Person that made it. Some assign it to that *Flaminius* who was kill'd by *Hannibal* at the Lake *Thrasimenus*, and say, it was made in the Consulship of *Lucius Veturius* and *Caius Lutatius*, and the Year of Rome 533, wherein *Festus*, *Florus* and *Cassiodorus* agree, the last of whom speaks thus of it: *L. Veturius and Caius Lutatius being Consuls, the Flaminian Way was pav'd, and the Circus call'd Flaminius was made.*

*Epitomes lib. 20.
in Chronico.*

7. Yet *Strabo* writes, that it was *Flaminius* the Son who pav'd two great Roads in Italy; the one of them reaching from Rome to *Rimini*, which is the *Via Flaminia*, or *Flaminian Way*; and the other from *Rimini* to *Bologna* and *Aquilea*, call'd *Emilia*, or the *Emilian Way*. But as for this Controversy, we shall better decide it elsewhere, and for the present it shall suffice to show that the *Flaminian Way* is to have the third Place as to Antiquity, and that the *Emilian* follows immediately next to it.

8. The Satisfaction the People took in these Works, and the Conveniency of them, mov'd the Censors *Placcus* and *Albinus*, 13 or 14 Years after, to reassume the Humour of looking to the paving and repairing of the Streets in the City, and the Roads in the Country; for in the Consulship of *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *Q. Mutius Scævola*, and the Year of Rome

580, they first publickly set out those Works of paving in the City with Stones, and Gravelling in the Country, as we shall make out by the Testimony of *Livy* in the next Book.

9. It is like that the *Roman* Magistrates who succeeded those two Censors, us'd the same Industry in making and continuing the Highways of *Italy*, though for the next 50 Years I find no Account of them in History. *C. Gracchus*, Brother to *Tyberius*, was the next in Time, and who perhaps exceeded them in Industry and Magnificence of Workmanship. Of him *Plutarch* writes, that being Tribune of the People, he propos'd to repeople *Carthage*, and several other Towns, to pave the Highways, and to build publick Granaries or Storehouses to lay up Provision of Corn, the overseeing of which Works he undertook himself, and finish'd them with such Dexterity and Diligence as if there had been but one of them to do. But of all the publick Works, that in which he bestow'd most Labour and Care, was in paving and finishing the great Roads of *Italy*, of the Manner, Beauty and Magnificence whereof we shall speak more to the Purpose in another Place.

10. These are the first Authors and the most ancient Remarks we can find in the *Roman* History of the Highways made in *Italy*, to which several Magistrates afterwards added so much, that in the Days of *Julius Caesar*, the City of *Rome* was by them join'd to all the Regions and principal Cities of *Italy*; and though *Augustus Caesar* and the following Emperors made extraordinary Works there, it was rather to enlarge and repair them, than to make new ones from End to End, excepting some made by *Domitian*, *Aurelian*, and *Trajan*.

C H A P. IX.

When the Highways began to be made throughout the Provinces.

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| 1. <i>The first Highway pav'd in the Provinces is in the Aquitanick and Narbonnoise Gaul.</i> | 4. <i>The fourth Way in Epirus and Macedon.</i> |
| 2. <i>The second Highway, called Via Domitia, in Provence and Savoy.</i> | 5. <i>Augustus Cæsar the main Author of the Highways in the Provinces.</i> |
| 3. <i>The third Way of the same Name in Germany.</i> | 6. <i>The pav'd Ways in the Provinces are those of Antoninus's Itinerary and Peutinger's Tables.</i> |

1. **I**T is a Matter of Difficulty enough to determine the Time when the *Romans* began to make pav'd Ways out of *Italy*, and few Instances of it are found before the Reign of *Augustus*. However, I will here deliver what little I have found in ancient Writings, and will begin with those Ways I find to have been pav'd on this Side the *Alps*, as well in *Gaul* as in *Germany*. The first, and (as I believe) the ancientest of them all, is that the *Romans* made after the last *African War*, to travel from *Spain* and the *Pyrenean Mountains*, across the *Aquitanick* and *Narbonnoise Gaul*, to the *Alps*; of which *Polybius*, a sincere and faithful Historian, makes Mention in his third Book, where he says, that from the River *Ebro* to *Ampurias* there are 1600 Furlongs, and the same Distance from *Ampurias* to the Passage over the *Rhosne*. Then, to assure us he is very certain of those Numbers, he adds, that after that Time the *Romans* had exactly measur'd the Distances of those Ways, and had set up Colum-

nae Miliaria, or Columns of a Mile Distance, at every eight Furlongs. This is the same Way *Andreas Resendus* speaks of, as having seen it, and observ'd that it was pav'd with square Flints, *the profuse Expence being almost a Madness*, says he. This we shall show more at large in another Place.

Lib. 3. de Antiquit. Lusitania, cap. de Viis Militarib.

2. The second is the *Via Domitia*, or *Domitian Way*, which *Domitius Abenobarbus* made in the Year of Rome 629, *M. Plantius Hypseus* and *M. Fulvius Flaccus* being Consuls. He having overcome the People of *Savoy*, *Dauphine* and *Auvergne*, thought he could leave no better Monument of his Victory, than by paving that Highway after the Manner of *Italy*: And though it be a difficult Matter to find out the exact Place where it was, it may reasonably be suppos'd to have been in that particular Province of the *Allobroges* whom he had overcome, and in that Region which they peculiarly call'd *Provincia*, and we *Provence*. Wheresoever it was, it is the same Way *Cicero* calls *Viam Domitiam*, and which he says was repair'd by two Legates or Lieutenants of *M. Fonteius*, as we observ'd above.

Orations pro M. Fonteio.

3. It appears there was one in *Germany*, beyond the *Rhine*, which bore the same Name of *Via Domitia*, but which could not be of such Antiquity, nor made by the same Person, for as much as the *Domitian Way* in *Gaul* was made long enough before the Conquests of *Julius Caesar*, and that in *Germany* was made good long after. At least there is no Doubt it was not before *Julius Caesar*, since he was the first that set his Foot in *Germany*. But this Road was made by one that bore the same Name of *Domitius* over wet and boggy Places in *Germany*, and where, without that Way, no sure Footing could be had in any Place.

Lib. 1. *Annal.*

Tacitus thus describes this Way, and tells us who made it in these Words; *That is a narrow Path amidst vast Morasses, once thrown up by L. Domitius. The other Parts were muddy, sticking with a heavy Clay, or had uncertain Banks. It was this Way that Cæcina brought back to this Side of the Rhine Part of the Army Germanicus had led into Germany, as the same Author testifies.*

4. Thus much of what relates to Gaul and Germany. As for the other Provinces, I find but one Way in them, call'd *Via Egnatia*, the *Egnatian Way*, which reaches from the City *Apollonia* in *Epirus*, to the City *Cypselus* and the River *Hebrus*, to the Banks whereof they pav'd that Road, which they measur'd out into Miles, and mark'd them out with Columns, according to Custom, whereof we have this positive Testimony in *Strabo*: *The Egnatian Way runs from Apollonia into Macedon Eastward, divided into Miles, and those*

Lib. 7.

mark'd out with Stones, to Cypselus and the River Hebrus. Now we must conclude, that this Way was pav'd before Augustus Cæsar began those in the Provinces, since it was finish'd and compleat in the Days of Cicero, bearing then the Name of a Military Way, which was not given to any but great pav'd Roads; for it is the same this Author mentions, saying, that in his Time it reach'd as far as the Hellespont athwart Macedon. That Military Way of ours, says he, which runs through Macedon to the Hellespont.

De Provinciis Consularibus.

5. If there were any more such Highways out of Italy before the Days of *Augustus*, I believe they were very rare, he being the Person that effectually took upon him to enlarge and stretch out the ancient Roads of Italy, and to make new ones throughout the Provinces. Hereof we have good Proofs in History, which will occur here and there in this Work, and for

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for the present I shall only bring this one out of *Suetonius*, who says: *And that what was doing in every Province might be the* In *August. cap. 41.* *sooner and more readily carry'd and made known, first he appointed Youths to be on the Military Ways at small Distances, and afterwards Chariots.* Where these Words [in every Province] are very remarkable, because if he had not himself caus'd Ways to be made in every Province, he could not have dispos'd the Messengers and the Chariots here mention'd, for the easy and ready having Intelligence of what was doing in every Part of the Empire. Now it is plain that these Roads were no other but our pav'd Highways, for as much as he calls them *Vias Militares*, Military Ways, which is the properest Name in the Writings of the Ancients to express the Roads made and rais'd by the Art of Man.

6. These are the same Roads describ'd in *Antoninus's* Itinerary and the *Peutinger* Tables, which do not only contain the great Roads of *Italy*, but those of the Provinces also. *Hieronymus Zurita*, who has writ Comments upon the said Itinerary, makes it out plain enough to us, when he says, That *Augustus Caesar* was not satisfy'd to see *Italy* alone full of the Ornament of pav'd Roads, but that he furnish'd all the Provinces of his Empire with them, that the Lords-Lieutenants and Proconsuls might with more Ease go from Town to Town, and be present at the usual Assemblies in them for administring of Justice, and the Government of them. The same Prince, says this Author, bestow'd the same Ornament and Beauty, not only on *Italy*, but on all the Provinces of the Roman Empire, that the Presidents and Proconsuls might with the more Ease go about to the Provinces, and Assemblies of the Provinces.

C H A P. X.

By what Number of Men, and of what Condition, the Highways of the Empire were made.

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| <p>1. <i>That Abundance of Men and much Money, were requisite for the Making of the Highways.</i></p> <p>2. <i>The Number of Men employ'd about Solomon's Temple, and about one of the Pyramids of Egypt.</i></p> <p>3. <i>The Number of Men employ'd about the Roads, surpasses both those.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Four Sorts of Men employ'd at Work on the Highways: The first Sort, the Soldiers of the Legions.</i></p> <p>5. <i>That Augustus first employ'd them on the Work of the Highways,</i></p> | <p>6. <i>The Number of Legions increas'd after Augustus.</i></p> <p>7. <i>The second Sort, the People of the Provinces.</i></p> <p>8. <i>The Method observ'd in employing the Legionary Soldiers, and People of the Provinces, on the Highways.</i></p> <p>9. <i>The Complaint of them both.</i></p> <p>10. <i>The third Sort of Men employ'd about the Highways.</i></p> <p>11. <i>The fourth Sort.</i></p> <p>12. <i>That all Europe, Asia and Africk, set their helping Hands to so great a Work.</i></p> |
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1. **T**HE Highways of the Empire having exceeded all Works done by Hand, in Extent of Ground, it was consequently requisite to employ more Men, and expend more Money about them, than any other Work in the World, that has been famous in History, either in the Greek or Roman, in the sacred or profane: And therefore it behoves us to speak a Word

Word concerning the innumerable Number of Men, and the incomprehensible Sums of Money employ'd about that incomparable Work.

2. We read, that *Solomon* employ'd a great Number of native *Jews*, and of Profelytes, in building the Temple of *Jerusalem*; 3. Reg. cap. 5. & 2. Paral. cap. 2. for he made choice of 30000 *Israelites* to cut down the Wood on Mount

Libanus, 10000 of which work'd there one Month in three, and rested two Months in their Houses; and having caus'd the Profelytes to be number'd, and finding them to amount to 153600, he appointed 80000 for the Stone-work of the Temple, 70000 for carrying the Materials, and the rest, which were 3600, he constituted Overseers and Directors of the Work, to have an Eye over and command the

others. *Pliny* writes, that 30000 Lib. 36. Hist. Nat. cap. 12. Men were employ'd for 20 Years in Building the greatest of the Pyramids

of *Egypt*. Yet these great Works were circumscrib'd to a small Space of Ground, and built by the People of only two Kingdoms, which afterwards made but two small Parts of the *Roman* Empire.

3. But for the Work of our Highways, as it extended to all Parts; so all the People of the Empire put their Hands to it, from the most Western Parts of *Spain* and *Mauritania*, to the most Eastern of *Assyria* and *Media*; and from the Northern Countries of *Great Britain*, *Gaul*, *Hungary* and *Scythia*, to the Southern of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and the *Garamantes*; that is, an innumerable Multitude of Men, of all the then known World; for as much as the victorious *Romans* from the Reign of *Augustus*, till the Decay of the Western Empire, had subdu'd all the best Part of the Earth, as we shall see at the Beginning of the 3d Book of this Work; And therefore all the Provinces of the Empire having contri-

contributed towards this Work, we may say all the World had a hand in it; that is, so great a Number of Men of each Province, that it is impossible to make any certain Computation of them.

4. However, to give some Information of it in the gross, and in some measure shew the infinite Number of Workmen, I will divide them all into four Sorts or Conditions of Men; that is, into Legionary Soldiers, People of the Provinces, Artisans, and Slaves, or Criminals. I will begin with the Legionary Soldiers, who before *Augustus*, and after him, were chosen of mere natural Citizens of *Rome*, as is well known to those who are vers'd in History, which tells us, that Strangers and the Confederates, serv'd among the *Auxiliaries*, not in the *Legions*. *Augustus* considering it is no less a Virtue to preserve than to acquire; Tho' he had by his wonderful Valour and good Fortune made himself Master of a greater, and more peaceable Empire than all that were before him, yet he kept afoot 25 Legions, distributed by him into several Provinces; but more particularly in those which were the Frontiers of the Empire, that they might be in a Readiness upon all Occasions, against the Attempts and Irruptions of Foreign Enemies. He kept three in *Spain* eight in *Gaul*, two in *Africk*, four in *Syria*, two in *Mesia*, two in *Hungary*, and as many in *Dalmatia*. Each Legion in the Days of *Augustus* consisted of 6200 Foot, and 730 Horse, as may be gather'd out of *Dion*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and other *Roman* Historians; so that the 25 Legions amounted to 173000 Men.

5. This great and fortunate Emperor, who had a sprightly Wit, and was full of solid Thought, finding himself in a settled Peace with so many Legions upon his Hands, which might be debauch'd by Sloath, thought he could not better employ so many Men, dispers'd throughout the Provinces, than in making
new

new Highways in all Parts of his Empire; this he did for several Reasons, which we shall mention elsewhere; but most particularly to obviate many Inconveniencies which Idleness causes among Soldiers, it happening often that Armies fall into
Discord, when the Soldiers enur'd to In vita Agricola.
Expeditions, grow wanton through Idleness, as Tacitus expresses it.

6. The Number of Legions afterwards increas'd considerably, under the following Emperors, there being 30 Legions afoot at one Time under the Emperor *Trajan*; and it is to be believ'd that so good an Emperor would not suffer them to be useless, when Peace allow'd him Leisure to make them work on the Highways of his Empire, he being one of those that made or repair'd most Highways after *Augustus*. *Adrian* his Successor, tho' a Lover of Peace, kept no less Number of Legions all his Life-time. This we learn from a subtle Answer made by *Favorinus*, one of the most learned and best at Repartee in his Age, *Ælius Spartianus in Adriano.* to some of his Friends, who upbraided him for not having contested with that Emperor, as he ought to have done, about the Use of a *Latin* Word; for which Word the said Emperor had taken him up, tho' it was us'd by good Authors. *Favorinus* answer'd them thus: *You know nothing of the Matter, since you will not allow me to look upon him as the most knowing Person, who has 30 Legions under his Command.* With the Assistance of these Legions it was that he built that famous Wall in *Great Britain*, fourscore *Italian* Miles in Length, to part the *Roman* Dominions from the *Barbarians*, of which *Spartianus* makes mention in his History.

7. Another Sort of Men employ'd in these Works, were the common People of the Provinces, call'd in History,

History, Provinciales ; to the same Intent as the Soldiers were set to Work, that they

*Lib. 13. Originum,
cap. 16.*

might not be idle ; As *St. Isidorus* observes, saying, *The Romans made Ways through almost all Parts of the World*

that the Roads might be strait, and the Multitude kept out of Idleness. This is one of the Reasons which mov'd some Kings of *Egypt* to build Pyramids : *The Reason*

Plin. lib. 36. Nat. Hist. cap. 12.

of building them is deliver'd by many, lest they should furnish their Successors, or ill designing Enemies with Money, and that the Multitude might not be idle.

Thus, that the Multitude of every Province might have no Opportunity to mutiny, they were employ'd on the Work of the Highways by way of personal Service ; but most particularly the People of the open Towns, Villages, and other Places in those Provinces, which had been subdu'd by Force of Arms, and had by that Means forfeited their former natural Liberty.

8. The Manner of obliging the Soldiers and People of the Provinces to work, was this : The Emperors sent their Commanders and Lieutenants into the Provinces under several Titles and Denominations, as Proconsuls, Presidents, Prætors and Legates, who had a considerable Number of Legionary Soldiers under them, whom they employ'd both in Peace and War ; for in Time of Peace, instead of necessary Works, they employ'd them in such as were for Pleasure, or for the Publick Benefit and Advantage.

9. At these Works the Soldiers wrought with the Commonalty of every Country ; and in several Places both of them were so fatigu'd, and so hardly dealt with, that they made grievous Complaints, and have sometimes broke out into Mutinies, and open Rebellion against their Commanders ; As it happen'd under

der *Augustus*, when the two Armies he had on the *Rhine*, each consisting of four Legions, rose up against their Tribunes, charging them with the Hardness of the Labour, Trenches, Ditches, Carrying of Provisions, Wood, and other Materials, and all the rest design'd to keep them out of Idleness. Among the other Works of incredible Toil and Labour, one was the making of great Causeways athwart the Plains, Forests, and Marshy Places; the cutting through Mountains, the levelling of Hills, and building of Bridges over great Rivers, to meet the Ends of the said Causeways, which were carry'd on and continu'd through the best Towns for the marching of Armies. The Legionary Soldiers often complain'd of being put upon such Works, in which, of Martial Men they were made Labourers, or Assistants to Masons; and desir'd they might be employ'd to encounter with Men, and not with rapid Rivers, thick Forrests, rocky Mountains, and undrainable Marshes; declaring loudly, that they were no Giants to oppose Nature, and oblige her against her Will to obey the Emperors and their Lieutenants. The People of the Provinces complain'd that the Romans injuriously forc'd them by Blows to work upon the Highways, as appears by the Speech *Galgacus*, Prince of the *Caledonians* or *Scotch*, made to his Soldiers, exhorting them to fight the Roman Army commanded by *Julius Agricola*; where, among other Things, he represents to them the miserable Condition of other Provinces already subdu'd in Great Britain, whose Goods and Fortunes the Romans had taken away for Tribute, and consum'd their Hands, and Bodies, in making Ways through Woods and Marshes, amidst Stripes and Reproaches. There is no Doubt but other Provinces had the same Cause to complain; for some were oblig'd to cleave the Rocks, to dig in Quar-

Quarries, and take out the Stones; others to carry them 10, 20, or 30 Leagues in Length, to those Places where there were none; others to fetch up from the Bottom of Rivers the Gravel and Sand; others to burn Lime, and others to hew down Forrests to furnish the Kilns with Wood; and in fine, others to compose one Work of all those Materials, to settle each of them orderly in its Place, to ram, and consolidate them, and in all Respects to give them their due Form and Perfection, to render them lasting to Posterity.

10. The third Sort of Men that work'd at the Highways, were the Architects, Masons and Carpenters; For it being so, that the Parts of them could not be join'd but by Bridges, or terminated but by Sea-Ports; and besides, it being requisite for the Convenience of Posts and Lodging Places, which they call'd *Mutationes* and *Manstones*, to build an infinite Number of new Structures on the Highways; as also the vast Multitude of Columns to shew the Miles on the Roads, and other small Works we shall speak of hereafter; it follows of consequence that most of the Masons, Stone-cutters, Carpenters, Architects, Engineers and Undertakers in the World contributed with their Labour or Industry towards these Works; which had they been brought together, they would far exceed all the Workmen at Solomon's Temple, and those of the Pyramids of Egypt. Nor is it to be imagin'd that those Bridges, and those Gates, were slight Works; for the Port of Ostia, made by Claudius, and only Trajan's Bridge over the Danube, may vie with the greatest and boldest Pieces of Stone-work in the World.

11. The fourth Sort of Men put to the Works of the Highways, were Criminals and condemn'd Persons; many of whom in those Days were not sentenc'd to die, tho' they had deserv'd it, but to work all their Life-

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Life-time upon the Highways, as others were adjudg'd to the Mines, and as in *France* and other Countries they condemn to the Gallies. *Ani-
sis*, King of *Egypt*, had formerly used *Herodotus, lib. 2.*
this Method to fortify the Towns of
his Kingdom. This Prince was blind, yet reigned in
Egypt 50 Years, during which Time he forbid any
Criminal being condemn'd to Death; but to make
such a certain Measure and Length of Rampart about
the Towns they were born in, according to the Hei-
nousness of the Crime. Now tho' those on whom the
Roman Judges past such Sentence, were mean Persons,
yet the Emperor *Caligula* condemn'd to it some Citi-
zens of *Rome*, even of the best Families, after branding
them on the Forehead with the ignominious Mark used
upon Criminal Slaves, whereof we will only give this
Testimony out of *Suetonius*, speaking
of *Caligula*; He condemn'd many well *In Caligula, cap. 27.*
born, after branding them, to the Mines,
or to work at the Highways, or to be devour'd by wild
Beasts. *Nero* did the like when he undertook to cut
a Canal from the Lake *Avernus*, to the Port of *Ostia*,
to serve for a Way by Water: For the finishing of which
Undertaking, he order'd the Prisoners from all Parts to be
brought into Italy, and all Criminals convicted to be con-
demn'd to the Work.

12. In short, we may conclude it was not one King-
dom, one Province, or one Region alone, that fur-
nish'd Men to work upon such a vast Design; but that
all *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africk*, set their Hands to it; and
that the greatest and most potent Kingdoms that once
flourish'd in the said Parts of the World, were em-
ploy'd at it, whilst they were subject to the Empire;
which cannot be said of any other Work in the Uni-
verse.

C H A P. XI.

A general Discourse of the Treasure employ'd about the Highways.

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| 1. Great Sums of Money laid out upon certain Works. | 3. Three Sorts of Cash apply'd to the Works of the Highways. |
| 2. Much greater expended on the Highways. | |

1. **W**E find it written, that the Tower of *Pharos*, which was a Light-House, built by *Pto- lomy* on the Shoar of *Egypt*, cost 800 *Plin. lib. 36. cap. 12.* *Egyptian* Talents, which amount to about 121526 Pounds Sterling, each Talent being valu'd at near 152 Pounds of our Money. That to feed those who built the greatest Pyramid, in the same Country there was expended in only Radishes and Onions, the Sum of 1800 Talents, which is about 273433 Pounds Sterling. That the wronght Gold in *Solomon's* Temple on Columns, and Ornaments, and in Vessels for Sacrifice, amounted to 460000 Talents, the Silver to 1232, and the Brass to 18000; which must be understood of the little Talent of the *Hebrews*, which was the same as the *Shekel*, and was under two Shillings, and above 20 Pence *English*; all those Sums making about 390858 Pounds. That *Julius Cæsar* purchas'd a Piece of Ground in *Rome* to make a Market of it, for 100 Millions of *Sesterces*, which amount to 179484 Pounds. In short, it is amazing to talk of the Sums expended in building *Pompey's* Thea-

Eupolemus de rebus Judaicis apud Eusebium, lib. 9. de Preparatione Evangelica.

tre, *Agrippa's Pantheon*, *Vespasian's Temple of Peace*, and many other great Structures mention'd in History.

2. But if after all these Sums, which in Reality are great, we come to examine those laid out on the Highways of the Empire, we shall find that these last far exceed the greatest Sums that were ever disburs'd on the greatest Works made by Men, in any Part of the World whatsoever; because only one Town, one Province, or one Kingdom, contributed to any other Work, tho' never so great; but as for the Highways we treat of, there was no People, Nation, Province or Country, but gave something to it, besides what the City of *Rome* contributed of its own.

3. This we shall demonstrate in the Discourse we shall make of the Diversity of Cash apply'd to these Works, for the Space of 500 Years and better; which Cash we will divide into three several Sorts, being that of the Publick, of the Emperor's, and of private Persons. Of each of which we will say something in particular, to the end that if we cannot exactly determine the said Sums, as being too immense; we may at least give some general Knowledge of them, and make it appear that they were so exorbitant, that none but the *Roman* Empire could have furnish'd them, all other Monarchies of the World having never been capable of compassing such an Undertaking. This engages us to give a brief Account of the Sources whence the Publick Treasure of the *Romans* flow'd, and from which they plentifully drew what was requisite for the making of these Highways throughout the World.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Publick Revenues of the Romans, and the different Sorts of them.

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| <p>1. Of the Publick Revenues divided into Tributes and Tolls. What Tribute is.</p> <p>2. Two Sorts of Tributes; when instituted.</p> <p>3. Of Tolls or Taxes, and the several Sorts of them. The first Sort call'd Portorium.</p> <p>4. The 2d and 3d Sorts, Decima and Scriptura.</p> <p>5. The 4th Sort, what in France they call Gabelle.</p> | <p>6. The 5th Sort, call'd Vigesima on the Sale of Slaves.</p> <p>7. That the People of Rome by degrees eas'd themselves of Tributes and Taxes, to lay them on Italy, and the Provinces.</p> <p>8. New Tributes set on foot by Augustus.</p> <p>9. The 3d Sort of Revenue arising from Gold and Silver Mines.</p> <p>10. Several Sorts of Sordid and Tyrannical Taxes.</p> |
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1. **T**HE Publick Revenues of the Romans differ'd in Nature and Quantity, according to the Variety of Times and Changes of the Commonwealth; but the two general Sources whence they flow'd, were the Tributes and Taxes, which they call'd *Tributa* and *Vectigalia*. The Tributes, which the Greeks call'd *Phoros*, were rais'd by certain Officers on the Persons of People, with regard to every one's Means and Ability, like the *Tailles Personelles* in France, or our Poll, or Capitation. The Tribute was so call'd from the Tribes, says Varro, because it was exacted through the Tribes from each Person, according to what they

Lib. 4. de Lingua Latina.

were

were valu'd at, to make up the Sum impos'd upon the People.

2. There were two Sorts of Tributes: The one the Ordinary, which was rais'd every Year, both on the Persons of the People, and on Lands and Goods. The other Extraordinary, which was laid either by an Order of the People, or Decree of the Senate, according to the Necessity of Affairs, for the Good and Defence of the Empire, and of the Provinces belonging to it; as when the Tributary People were order'd to furnish a certain Number of Horse or Foot, with Money to pay them. The Tributes were first instituted by the Kings, and continu'd by the Consuls, till the Year of Rome 586, when *Paulus Aemilius* brought such a vast Sum of Money into the Publick Treasury, of the Booty taken from *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, that the People of Rome were for a long Time after eas'd of the Paying of Tributes, which *Cicero* testifies in these Words; *Paulus having taken all the Treasure of the Macedons, which was very great, brought so much Money into the Exchequer, that the Booty of one General put an End to the Tributes.*

3. As for the Taxes, which the Greeks call *Telos*, there were five Sorts of them. The first by the Greeks call'd *Phoros*, and by the Romans, *Vestigal Peregrinum*, five *Portorium*, being a Duty taken for the Importation and Exportation of all Things sold; as so much in the Pound, or Measure, Toll at City-Gates, on Highways, on Bridges or the like, taken for the Carriage of Goods.

4. The 2d Sort of Tax was call'd *Decima*, and the 3d *Scriptura*. I put them together here, because *Appianus Alexandrinus* Lib. 1. *Pellonum civilium*. speaks of them both together, when he says, That the Romans subduing first one, and then another Province of *Italy*, took from the conquer'd People a considerable Part of their

their Lands, distributing such as were till'd among the Citizens of *Rome*; but what lay untill'd, they let out to Farm for the tenth Part of the Product to be paid to the Publick; whence this Sort of Duty must have the Name of the *Tithe*. And as for Woods and Pasture, the Censors set them out, and adjudg'd them to the fairest Bidders, giving Power to those they were adjudg'd to, to levy so much a Head on all Cattel, great and small, that graz'd on it; and this Sort of

*In verbo Scriptura-
rius Ager.*

Duty they call'd, *Scripturam*, because the Farmer agrees in writing with the Grazier or Shepherd, says *Festus*.

5. The 4th Sort of Tax was that which in *France* they call *Gabelle*, rais'd on the Salt sold by publick Authority; for *Livy* informs us, that two Years after the Expulsion of the Kings, Salt being risen to an exorbitant Price, private Persons were forbid to sell it, and it was appropriated to the Publick; and that during the second *Carthaginian* War, the Censors, *Nero* and *Salinator*, invented a new Subsidy on Salt, both within *Rome*, and throughout all *Italy*.

6. The 5th Sort of Tax was rais'd on Slaves that were made free, which were valu'd at a certain Rate, the 20th Part whereof was paid to the Farmers; whence it was call'd *Vigesima*, as we call the 20th Penny, or Twelve Pence in the Pound. It was in the Year of *Rome* 398, that *Cn. Manlius* first instituted this Subsidy, which was approved and confirm'd by the Senate: Because by that Law no small Supply was added to the Exchequer then poor, says *Livy*.

7. As the Dominion of the Romans spread it self over the People of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africk*, the People of *Rome* eas'd themselves of Tributes and Taxes, laying that Burden on the Nations subdu'd, and particularly on those that were reduc'd by main Force. The *Latins* and *Italians*, as nearest to *Rome*, were the first that felt this Burden; for we see by these Words of

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Livy, that the *Latins* were made Tributary ; Then the *Latins*, after they were made Tributary, us'd long Shields instead of round Bucklers. And as for the *Italians*, *Appian* says they complain'd, That they were weary of serving in the Army, and paying the Tribute. The *Romans* impos'd the same Yoke on all the Provinces, except the Confederate Cities and Countries ; as we may perceive by what *Appian* writes, where *Scipio*, with ten Commissioners, gives such Laws as he thinks fit to the conquer'd *Carthaginians*. As for the Kings and People that were Allies and Friends of the People of *Rome*, says he, they reward them ; but for the rest, they impose on them a Yearly Tribute, both on their Lands, and their Persons.

In Lybico.

8. But the Tributes and Taxes of the Provinces in Process of Time growing so great, that the Burden was become insupportable, *Augustus*, to ease the People of his Empire, at once cut off all the extraordinary Taxes, which the insatiable Avarice of the *Roman* Magistrates, sent into the Provinces as Proconsuls, Prætors or Presidents, had invented ; so that without any regard to ancient Customs, he instituted a new certain settled Tribute, partly on the Lands, and partly on the Persons of the People. But that he might proceed more regularly, he caused that general Taxing or Numbering of the whole World, mention'd in the 2d Chapter of *St. Luke*, There went out a Decree from *Cæsar Augustus*, that all the World should be taxed. By this Taxing, or Numbering, which was call'd *Census*, he design'd to know the Number of Men, and their Means and Ability, to lay the Imposition equally. *Augustus* having invented *Census*, or Polling, took an Account of the *Roman World*, as *S. Isidorus* expresses it. This general Polling produc'd a wonderful Increase in the Revenue of the Empire, both to *Augustus* himself, and

Lib. 5. Etymologicon, cap. 36.

the succeeding Emperors, no Province being exempted from contributing.

9. I do not take Notice of a 3d Sort of Revenue, which afforded the *Romans* an inestimable Treasure, being the Gold and Silver taken from the Mines that were then in so many Provinces subject to the Empire; and among the rest in *Spain* and *Gaul*, whence the Emperors drew Abundance of Gold, as *Strabo*, *Pliny* and others, sufficiently testify. *Mecenas* made Account of this Revenue in the Instructions he gave to *Augustus*, that he might reign well and happily.

Dio. lib. 52.

Next, said he, an Account is to be taken of all these, speaking of the Taxes and Tributes, and of those which we certainly receive out of the Mines, or otherwise.

10. I will not speak of the Tax *Vespasian* laid upon Piss, which he sold to the Scarlet Dyers; or of another yet more loathsome, mentioned by *Cedrenus* in the Life of the Emperor *Anastasius*; of the *Chrysargicon*, or the Tax upon Dung, instituted by *Constantine*, and mention'd by *Zozimus*; of that the Emperor *Nicephorus* set upon Smoke, whence he had the Name of *Capnicon*; or of another impos'd by *Michael Papblagon*, on the Air we breathe. *S. John Chrysostom* complain'd of this, saying, *We sell the Elements, the Highways pay Taxes, and the Air is Venal.* *Pliny* complain'd, that there was a Tax laid on the Shade of certain Trees, and even upon the Dead. And *Xiphilinus* says, that in the Days of *Nero* it was not lawful to die without paying a Tax.

Macrobius in Saturnal.

Zozim. lib. 2.

Zonaras.

Cedrenus in compendio Historiarum.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the great Treasure the Romans drew from the Tributes and Taxes.

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| 1. <i>The first Conjecture of the Grandeur of the Romans.</i> | 3. <i>The Revenue of Egypt, and the Gauls.</i> |
| 2. <i>The Revenue of Asia, before and after Pompey's Victories.</i> | 4. <i>To what Sum the whole Revenue of the Empire amounted.</i> |

1. **T**O give some Knowledge in the Gross of the Greatness of the Yearly Income of the People of Rome, I will begin by the Consulship of *S. Julius* and *Lucius Aurelius Qrestes*, which was in the Year of Rome 597, seven Years before the last *Carthaginian* War. At that Time the Romans had but small Dominions out of *Italy*; and yet *Pliny* tells us, the Revenue arising by Tributes and Taxes was so great, that when all Charges were defray'd, there still remain'd in the publick Treasury of Rome 700026 Pounds of unwrought Gold, 92000 of uncoin'd Silver, and 775000 Pounds of extraordinary Plate. Sixty Years after, viz. in the Consulship of *S. Julius* and *L. Martius*, which was at the Beginning of the War with the *Marsi*, there was in the said Treasury a Fund of 846000 Pounds of Gold in Ingots.

2. But all this is nothing, if compar'd with what was rais'd by Tributes and Taxes in the following Ages, when the Empire extended over almost all the then known World. *Plutarch* tells us, that the Revenue of only the Province call'd *Asia Provincia*, now named *Natolia*, amounted to Six

In Pompeio, num. 12. juxta Lipsii emendationem.

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Millions of Crowns; and that the City of Rome drew Yearly 8500000 Crowns from the other Provinces which Pompey added to the Empire, both in the lesser and greater Asia, when he made

*Lib. 2. de Manif.
Rom. cap. 2.*

Lib. 17. Geogr.

War on Mithridates. Appian writes, that in his Days, Natolia alone yielded the Emperor Adrian 20 Millions of Crowns. Strabo says, he found it in one of Cicero's Orations, that the Tributes which Ptolemy, the Father of Cleopatra, rais'd out of his Kingdom of Egypt, amounted to 12500 Talents a Year, which comes to 7500000 Crowns: That there was us'd to be Yearly paid to Auletes, the Father of Cleopatra, 12500 Talents Tribute. This Sum was rais'd to at least 10000000, after Egypt was subdu'd by the Romans, and made a Province, as appears by the following Words of the same Author; *Then if he who govern'd most base and sloathfully had such a Revenue, what may we judge of the present, which is so carefully manag'd by the Romans, the Indian and Trogloditick Trade being so much improv'd?*

3. It was Augustus Ciesar that made Egypt Tributary, and rais'd the Sum to very near as much as the Gauls paid. Velleius Paterculus testifies it in these Words: *Divus Augustus, besides Spain and other Nations, whose Names adorn his Market-place, brought almost the same Revenue into the Exchequer by making Egypt Tributary, as his Father did by reducing Gaul.* Thus Gaul in some measure exceeded the Revenue of Egypt, and yielded no less than ten or twelve Millions a Year. These Sums were still greatly increased by the Tax Augustus laid on all the World, particularly in Gaul: For he instituted the Poll throughout Gaul, a Thing new and unheard of to the Gauls, as the Emperor Claudius expresses it in the Speech he made to the Senate; and by that Means it is believ'd the Revenue of Gaul was almost doubled. It appears by the Testimony of Amianus Marcellinus, that

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in the Days of the Emperor *Julian*, the ancient *Gauls* were tax'd at 25 Crowns of Gold a Head Which Imposition, being beyond all Reason, was moderated by *Julian*, reducing it to seven Crowns, that Winter he resided at *Paris*. And if *Gaul* was as populous as it is now, when we reckon 15 Millions of Souls in it, it might yield the Emperors before *Julian*, 375 Millions of Gold, and afterwards 105 Millions.

4. Then if only the Provinces of *Egypt* and *Gaul* brought such great Sums into the Emperor's Treasure, how great were those that arose from all the rest of the World? Might not *Syria*, where the universal Poll was began by the President *Cyrinus*, yield as much? Then what may we say of *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Spain*, and so many other great Provinces of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africk*? with so many Islands belonging to these three Parts of the World? It is certainly very hard to imagine what all these Sums could amount to; yet *Lipsius* does not stick to affirm, that all the Revenue of the Emperor's amounted to above 150 Millions of

Crowns: I am afraid, says he, to guess at the Sums, but I believe, and declare they were above 150 Millions. It must

*Lib. 2. de Magnitud.
Roman. cap. 3.*

not then seem strange if the *Roman* Emperors kept in constant Pay 200000 Foot and 40000 Horse, without reckoning 300 Elephants and 2000 Chariots for Bat-
tel; and on the Sea they had 2000 Sail of Ships, and 1500 Gallies. Such were the *Roman* Forces under *Adrian*, as *Appianus Alexandrinus* reports, who liv'd under that Emperor, and was acquainted with the Condition and Force of the Empire better than any Man of his Age.

C H A P. XIV.

That the Highways were Part of the Works on which the Publick Treasures were expended.

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| <p>1. Appian's Book, in which was an Account of the Revenue of the Empire.</p> <p>2. The Publick Account given of the Treasure of the Empire.</p> <p>3. That Account interrupted by Tiberius, brought up again by Caligula.</p> <p>4. How the Publick Treasure was employ'd.</p> <p>5. That the Highways were made at the Publick Expence.</p> | <p>6. The first Reason inducing to believe it.</p> <p>7. The second Reason.</p> <p>8. Rich Citizens, one of whom alone carry'd on the Work of the Highways.</p> <p>9. The Testimony of Siculus Flaccus.</p> <p>10. How we may conceive the prodigious Expence of the Highways.</p> |
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1. **I**F we had Appianus Alexandrinus's last Book, we should not be put to guess what the standing Revenue of the Romans amounted to, or what Part of it was disburs'd on the Works of the Highways; for at the Beginning of his Work he promises to give us this Account particularly, and from one Province to another at the End of his Book; as also how the said Revenue was expended Yearly. These are his Words: *The last Book shall contain what martial Force the Romans have, as also the Profits and Revenues they receive in each Nation: Likewise what they lay out on the Fleet, and the like.*

In Proemio Lybis Historiæ.

2. Appian

2. *Appian* could very well know all this, both because he had been long conversant among the People and Emperors of *Rome*, and by the Practice formerly us'd by the Emperors of exposing to publick View a brief Account of the Revenues of the Empire as Debtor and Creditor; whereof *Augustus Cæsar* was the first Inventor, as not disdaining to give an Account to the People, and to shew that so much Treasure was not laid out upon his Person, but for the Good and Safety of them all.

3. This is the Account in History call'd *Breviarium Imperii*; which having been discontinu'd by *Tiberius*, was again reviv'd by *Caligula*, as *Suetonius* informs us: He publish'd the Accounts of the Empire, which *Augustus* had us'd to expose, but had been intermitted by *Tiberius*. Yet *Tacitus* tells us that *Tiberius* had once practis'd the same, in these Words: *An Account was openly expos'd by Tiberius, containing the Publick Wealth, what Number of Citizens and Allies there were in Arms, what Fleets, Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes or Taxes, Expences and Deficiencies.*

4. It is certain that the greatest Part of the Revenues was expended on Warlike Affairs, but not all; for there remain'd a considerable Part to defray the Publick Works and Structures, as Temples, and other great Buildings in the City, and the Highways, Ports, and Bridges without it. We have an Instance hereof in *Trajan*, of whom *Dion* speaks thus: *He laid out very much Money in waging War; yet he was no less liberal and expensive in his Care of the Ornaments of Peace. He erected very many and necessary Structures, as Ports and Publick Houses, and repair'd the Highways.*

5. And it is to be believ'd, that whilst the People kept the Sovereignty, the Expence of the Highways was not defray'd by the Magistrates appointed over them; for they being publick Persons, it was the publick

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lick Treasure they spent, and not their own. Which may be inferr'd from several Reasons.

6. The first is deriv'd from the Form the Censors, and other *Roman* Magistrates, us'd in contracting with the Pavers and Architects; that is, by publicly exposing it to the fairest Bidder, and adjudging of it, as was done by *Posthumius Albinus* and *Fulvius Flaccus*, who were the first of all Censors that set out the Highways to be pav'd and fenc'd in. Besides, the Highways were Part of the Publick Works given in Commission to the Censors, and which they did at their own Expence, since the Charge was allow'd them by a publick Law.

7. The second Reason is, That the Fortunes and Estates of those that made the Highways, especially the first and ancientest, could not be sufficient for such an extraordinary Expence; in regard that by a publick Law their Estates were limited to a certain Value, not sufficient for such Undertakings; and yet they were not allow'd to exceed that Value, for they might not possess above 500 Acres of Land, 100 horned Beasts,

and 500 small Cattel: And *Licinius Stolo*, who when Tribune of the People caus'd this Law to be enacted in the Year of Rome 377, was put to a great Fine, for being found to possess above 500 Acres of Land. It further appears, that by a Law made by *Gracchus*, this Quantity was reduc'd

Varro, lib. 1. de re rustica, cap. 2.

Livius, lib. 6. Annal.

Appianus, lib. 1.

Bel. civil.

Columella, l. 1. cap. 3.

to 200 Acres for Lands in *Italy*; alledging, that it was against Reason and Equity that one Man should possess more Land than he could till with his own Hands; and hereof we have the following

De Conditionib. Agrorum.

Testimony in *Siculus Flaccus*: *Gracchus made a Law, that no Man should possess above 200 Acres in Italy, for he*

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thought it against Equity to possess a greater Proportion than the Possessor himself could till.

8. True it is, that after the Days of *Sylla* and *Marius*, some Citizens were excessive rich by their Victories, and the Spoil taken from great Enemy Nations subdued: Such were *Lucullus*, *Crassus*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. However, we find none but *Julius Cæsar* that disburs'd their own Money on the Work of the Highways; and *Plutarch* had not taken particular Notice of it, when he says, That he was chosen Overseer of the *Appian* Way, had it not been an extraordinary and unusual Thing, that he disburs'd a great Sum of his own Money in Repairing and Continuing of it.

9. We have also a positive Testimony hereof in the same *Flaccus*, who says, the Highways call'd *Royal*, are made and pav'd at the Publick Expence, thus; *For there are Royal Publick Highways, which are made good by the Publick*: Where the Word *Publice muniri*, used by him, signifies at the Publick Charge.

10. Add to what has been said an ancient Inscription, which informs us, that a certain Hill, call'd *Clivus Martis*, or *Mars's Hill*, was levell'd to make the Way plain, and the Expence defray'd out of the Publick Stock.

SENATUS. POPULUSQUE. ROMANUS.
CLIVOM. MARTIS. PECUNIA. PUBLICA.
M. PLANITIAM. REDIGENDUM. CURAVIT.

Grut.
152. 7.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Money laid out on the Works of the Highways by the Emperors.

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| <p>1. <i>Highways made by Julius and Augustus, both in Italy and the Provinces.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Highways made by Augustus in Italy.</i></p> <p>3. <i>A Question concerning the publick Cash, and that of the Emperors.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Highways made by Augustus in the Provinces.</i></p> | <p>5. <i>Silver Statues melted down to be laid out on the Highways.</i></p> <p>6. <i>Work done on some Highways by Caius and Tiberius, Augustus's adopted Sons.</i></p> <p>7. <i>Some Highways made by him in Italy, Gaul, and Spain.</i></p> |
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1. **W**E have hitherto spoken of the publick Cash expended on the Works of the Highways, whilst the People of Rome preserv'd their Liberty: We must now come to the Emperors, and show, that they made such Account of these Works, that they laid out on them their own Treasure with wonderful Liberality and Magnificence, not only in *Italy*, but throughout the other Provinces of the Empire. I will not speak of the vast Sums *Julius Caesar* spent in Repairing and Lengthening the *Appian Way*, nor of some Ways made by him a-cross the *Alps*; but will begin with *Augustus*, his Successor, who thought it not enough to repair and augment the Roads in *Italy*, but made very many throughout the Provinces, and gave Occasion to his Successors to follow his Example in the same.

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2. As for *Italy*, *Dion* tells us, That this great and magnificent Emperor, being Consul with *M. Junius Syllanus*, in the Year of *Rome* 729, took Notice, that the Highways without the City were neglected and broke up in several Places, which was very troublesome to Travellers. This mov'd him to give it in Charge to some of the wealthiest Senators, to repair some which he particularly allotted them; and to set them an Example, he undertook himself the Task of repairing the *Flaminian Way*, because he intended to lead an Army that Way into *Britain*.
Suetonius, consonant to *Dion*, in this Place, says, That *Augustus Cæsar* having taken to himself the Repairing of the *Flaminian Way*, as far as *Ariminum*, distributed the rest to be made good among Men that had triumph'd out of the Spoil they had got.

Lib. 53.

In *Augusto*, cap. 30.

3. He finish'd the *Flaminian Way* in a few Days, but the rest were not repair'd till long after, and that not with those Senators Money, many of whom grudg'd to lay out their own Cash, but out of the publick Treasure, or the Emperor's; for it is certain that *Augustus* had his Revenues apart from the publick Treasure, as his Successors also had. But they often making use of the publick Cash, as well as their own, this puts *Dion* to a Nonplus in determining positively, whether the Treasure laid out by *Augustus*, and his Successors, on the Works of the Highways, is to be accounted of the Publick, or of their own. These are his Words: For tho' he had his own Cash apart from the Exchequer, yet he made use of the latter at Will. And in another Place; The rest of the Ways were repair'd later, for the Senators were not willing to be at the Charge; but whether they were at the publick, or at *Augustus* his own Expence, who can tell?

Lib. 53.

4. Now

4. Now if we come to the Provinces, we shall find that *Augustus Cæsar* carry'd on the Work almost in all Parts, but particularly in *Gaul* by his Son-in-Law *Agrippa*, and in *Spain* by himself. As for *Gaul*, it shall be treated of particularly hereafter; but for *Spain*, besides what has been said above, I shall produce an ancient Inscription, still to be seen in the House of *Ferdinand de Carrera*, in that Province; by which it appears, that *Augustus Cæsar* having given Peace to all the World, and in Token thereof shut up the Temple of *Janus*, he apply'd himself to the finishing of a great Road in *Spain*, which was begun some Time before under the former Consuls; making it broader and longer than it was, and continuing of it from *Medina* to *Cadiz*, being the farthest Part of *Spain* on the Western Ocean. The Inscription is as follows:

IMP. CÆS. DIVI. F. AUG. PON. MAX.
COS. XII. TRIBUNCI. POTEST. X. IMP. VIII.
ORBE. MARI. ET. TERRA. PACATO.
TEMPLO. JANI. CLUSO. ET. REP. PO.
ROM. OPTIM. LEGIB. SANCTISS.
INSTIT. REFOR. VIAM. SUPERI-
ORUM. COSS. TEMPORE. INCHO.
ET. MULTIS. LOCIS. INTERMIS-
SAM. PRO. DIGNITATE. IMPERII.
LATIOREM. LONGIOREMQUE.
GADEIS. USQ. PERDUXIT.
XXX.

Grut.
149.

5. This Emperor was so intent upon the Works of the Highways, that he did not spare the Silver Statues, many of his Friends, and Nations of the Empire, had given him to honour his Triumphs; a considerable number whereof he caus'd to be melted down to make Money, which he spent upon these Works; to the

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end it might be believ'd, that whatsoever was done in his Name, was also done at his Charge, as *Dion* expresses it.

6. Among the Children, *Julia*, Daughter to *Augustus*, had by her Husband *M. Agrippa*, there were two so entirely belov'd by their Grandfather, that he adopted them for his own. These were *Caius* and *Lucius*, whom in their Youth he advanc'd into the Government, and made them be chosen Consuls. Of the first of these two is the following Inscription, testifying that, as young as he was, he, together with *Augustus*, carry'd on the Work of the Road to *Rimini*.

C. CÆSAR. AUGUSTI. F.
COS.
VIAS. OMNES. ARIMINI.
STERNI

Grut.
153. 3.

7. But these two Sons dying within 18 Months, *Caius* in *Lycia*, and *Lucius* at *Marseilles*, *Tiberius*, Son to *Livia*, Wife to *Augustus*, was by him adopted his Successor in the Empire. *Tiberius* had so little Curiosity, that he did not lay out much Money, either upon Highways, or otherwise. Therefore *Tacitus* writes, that he made but two publick Works, viz. a Temple to *Augustus*, and a Scene to *Pompey's Theatre*. Nor did he finish either of them; but his Successor *Caligula* was fain to perfect them, if we will believe *Suetonius*, who says, *Caius finish'd the Structures began by Tiberius, being the Temple of Augustus, and Pompey's Theatre*. However, it appears by the two following Inscriptions, that he somewhat repair'd the Highways of *Gaul* and *Spain*: The first of them is at *Nismes*, and is as follows:

F

TI.

Grut.
149.2.

TI. CÆSAR. DIVI. AUG. AUG. PONTIF.
MAX. TRIB. POT. XXI. REFECIT.
ET. RESTITUIT.
III.

The second is in *Spain*, near the Town of *Errea*,
on a Column that shows the Miles.

353.7. TI. CÆSAR. DIVI. AUG. F.
DIVI. JUL. N. AUG. PONT.
MAX. TRIB. POT. XXXV.
IMP. IIX. COS. V.
A. PISORACA.
M. L.

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C H A P. XVI.

Of the Works on the Highways carry'd on by the rest of the Emperors, of the Race of the *Cæsars*.

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| <p>1. <i>Augustus's Successors carry'd on the Works of the Highways, especially the good ones.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Caligula's mad Works beyond the Power of Man and Nature.</i></p> <p>3. <i>Claudius's Works at the</i></p> | <p><i>Lake of Celano.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Other wonderful Works of the said Emperor.</i></p> <p>5. <i>Few Works of Nero Abroad in the Country.</i></p> <p>6. <i>Nero's great Works in the City of Rome.</i></p> |
|---|--|

1. **I**T is most certain, that after *Augustus Cæsar* apply'd himself to carry on the Work of the Highways throughout *Italy*, and began those in the Provinces, it was never wholly laid aside or interrupted, because a Part of the publick Revenue was appropriated to it: But besides this, it appears, as well by the Testimony of Historians, as by several ancient Inscriptions, that the Successors of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, as well those of the Race of the *Cæsars*, as others, forwarded those Works at their own proper Cost and Charges. And it is remarkable, that such of the Emperors as gain'd the Reputation of good and just Princes, are the same as most forwarded the Works of Paving the Highways in the Country.

2. But for the more regular Method in this Discourse, I am of Opinion we cannot proceed better than by the Order of Time, and of the Emperors who have apply'd themselves to this Work. We will

begin with the Three that remain of the Race of the *Cæsars*. And since *Caligula* was immediate Successor to *Tiberius*, we will first mention what little Work he did on the Highways; little in Extent of Land, but much in Grandeur, and the almost Impossibility of the Undertaking. *Suetonius* gives this Account of him; That he observ'd neither Rhime nor Reason in what related to publick Works and Structures, being so fond of nothing as performing what was above the Strength of Man and Nature. In Compliance with this mad Inclination, he built a Bridge into the Sea, as it were to brave it, and to walk steadily on it, as on the Back of a Slave. He cast great Heaps of solid Stone-work into the Bottom of the Water; cut through excessive hard Rocks, levell'd Plains with the neighbouring Mountains, by Banks thrown up, and cast down the Tops of others to equal them to the Valleys; all this by Multitudes of Pioneers, and with incredible Celerity; those who did not finish their Task within the Time prefix'd, being to answer it with no less than their Heads. So that he spent inestimable Treasure upon mad and almost useless Extravagancies; wasting, in less than one Year, the 27 Millions of Sesterces laid up in his Treasury by his

Predecessor *Tiberius*, which *Suetonius* with Astonishment relates in

In Caligula.

these Words: *And thus Moles were cast into the rough and deep Sea, Rocks of the hardest Flint were cut through, and Fields rais'd equal to Mountains by Banks, and the Tops of Mountains levell'd by cutting down, with incredible Celerity, because the Crime of any Delay was punish'd with Death. And that I may not reckon every Particular, vast Wealth, all those 27 Millions of Sesterces of Tiberius, were spent in less than a Year.*

3. *Claudius* succeeded *Caius Caligula*, who perform'd not any necessary publick Works, nor a great Number of any Sort; but what he did, were monstrous and prodigious Undertakings. *Suetonius* says, *He rather perform'd great, than many, or necessary Works.* As for Instance, he was so bold as to undertake that which *Augustus Cæsar* would not do, tho' the *Marsi* petition'd him on that account; which was the digging the Canal or Trench through a Mountain, for dreining of the Lake of *Celano*, call'd *Lacus Fucinus*, for the making of Ways, both by Land and Water, across it. This *Pliny* reckons among the greatest and most memorable Undertakings in the World, and which consum'd unspeakable Sums of Money,

Lib. 36. Nat. Hist. cap. 15.

and empyoy'd a wonderful Number of Men for several Years; his Words are these: *I reckon the digging through a Mountain for dreining of the Lake Fucinus, among the greatest and most remarkable Works, carry'd on with unspeakable Cost, and a Multitude of Workmen for so many Years.* Which this Author does not say without Reason; because, for the compassing his Design, he was to pierce through Mountains, to drein the Water under Ground by Wells dug on the Tops of the said Mountains in the earthy Parts, which was done with Water Engines; to hew down Rocks where they stood in the Way; and all this under Ground, in the Dark, and by Candle-light. So that no human Understanding can comprehend the Greatness of the Undertaking, unless they had seen it; nor is there any giving a Description to represent it fully, as *Pliny* thinks, who speaks of it thus:

Whereas the Conflux of Waters, where the Mountain was earthy, was drawn *Lib. 36. cap. 15.*

out at the Top with Engines; or the Flint hew'd out; and all Things within done in the Dark, which can neither be conceiv'd, but by such as have seen it, or be expressed by

Man in Words. Now, tho' *Pliny* says, that *Claudius* left this Work unfinish'd, out of Hatred to his Successor; yet *Suetonius* writes, that he finish'd it, tho' with Difficulty, having employ'd 30000 Men at it for the Space of eleven Years, without Intermiſſion.

4. Besides this Canal or Trench, that Emperor perform'd other Wonders, in cutting through Mountains to carry on the Highways across them, in casting Moles, or Heaps of Stone-work into the Bottom of Waters, to divide the *Dead-sea* from the *Tyrrenian*; and in Abundance of Bridges, which cost prodigious Sums, and which *Pliny* sets down in express Words. Among other Memorials still remaining of the Works by him done on the Highways, there is this Inscription to be seen to this Day at *Medina*:

Grut.
153.9.

IMP. DIVUS. CLAUDIUS.
DRUSI. F. CÆS. AUG.
GERM. PONT. MAX.
XI. ITER. REPARAVIT.

5. As for *Nero*, his Successor, in whom the Race of the *Cæsars* expir'd, he did no great Matters on the Highways of *Italy*, or the Provinces; for we find no Monument to inform us, that he did any Work in the Country, but only two Inscriptions in *Spain*: The first of which is cut upon a Pillar to show the Miles, near a Town call'd *Errea*, and is this:

Grut.
154.1.

NERO. CLAUDIUS. DIVI. CLAUD.
AUG. GERM. CÆS. AUG.
N. TIB. CÆS. AUG. PRON.
DIVI. AUG. ABN. CÆS. AUG.
GER. PONT. MAX. TR. POT.
IMP. COS.
A. PISOR. M. L.

The second is a Mile from *Cordova*, as follows :

NERO. CLAUDIUS. DIVI. CLAUDII. F.
GERMANICI. CÆSARIS. N. DIVI.
AUG. ABN. TIB. CÆSARIS. PRON.
TRIB. POT. IMP.

Grut.
154.2.

6. But tho' this Emperor did but little in the Country, yet he perform'd the greatest Wonders in *Rome* ; for he disliking that City, tho' then wonderful in its Structures, whether sacred or profane, publick or private, as his Predecessors had left it ; because the Streets were narrow and winding, he set it a-fire on purpose to rebuild it after his own Way, and to make the Streets wider, straiter, and better adorn'd than they were before. Of the Beauty and Costliness whereof, I shall say nothing at present, because it belongs to the Treatise of the Military Streets of *Rome*, which we have reserv'd for the 5th Book of this Work.

C H A P. XVII.

A Continuation of the Emperors that carry'd on the Works of the Highways at their own Expence.

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| <p>1. <i>Why Galba, Otho and Vitellius did not carry on the Work of the Highways.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Vespasian was the first after the Cæsars who particularly wrought at the Highways.</i></p> <p>3. <i>A Mountain cut through in Italy by Vespasian.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Ways made by him in Spain.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Highways in Italy and Spain by Titus and Domitian.</i></p> | <p>6. <i>Trajan surpass'd all Augustus his Successors in making Highways. The Via Trajana, or Trajan Way in Rome.</i></p> <p>7. <i>Roads made by him in Italy.</i></p> <p>8. <i>Highways, Bridges and Structures by him made across the Lake of Pontia.</i></p> <p>9. <i>Another from Benevento to Brindisi.</i></p> <p>10. <i>Others made by him in Spain.</i></p> |
|--|---|

1. **N**ero's Successor in the Empire was *Sergius Galba*, a Man no way related to the Race of the Cæsars, yet of a most noble and ancient Family, as being the 4th in Descent from *Q. Catulus Capitolinus*, well known in the *Roman History*; but his Reign, and those of *Orbo* and *Vitellius*, being but very short, and almost continually in open War, they had no Leasure to leave any Monuments behind them relating to the Highways, or any other publick Works, at least none that are come to my Knowledge.

2. The

2. The Empire, which was then bandy'd backwards and forwards, at length settled in the Family of the *Flavii*, tho' obscure enough, and having no Images of their Ancestors to prove their Antiquity. *Vespasian*, the Son of *Flavius Sabinus* and of *Vespasia Polla*, was the first of his Race that rose to any Dignity under the Emperors, by some of whom he was made Tribune, or Colonel of a Legion in the Province of *Thrace*; afterwards Receiver-General in *Candia* and *Cyrenaica*, and some time after Edile, Prætor, Consul, and at last Emperor of *Rome*. This wise and frugal Prince, if any ever was among the Emperors, having settled Peace by Force of Arms, reviv'd the Custom of *Augustus Cæsar*, in relation to the Highways, both within the City of *Rome*, and without it; for in *Rome* he rebuilt the *Capitol*, which had been burnt when *Vitellius* was defeated, repair'd some Buildings, and erected *Plin. lib. 36. cap. 15.* anew the Temple of Peace, reckoned among the wonderful Structures of *Rome*. Without, through all the Dominions of *Rome*, the Cities were renew'd in beautiful and stately Structures. But above all, he took Care that the Highways of the Empire, both in *Italy* and the Provinces, should be made good, and pav'd in sumptuous and magnificent Manner.

3. But the most remarkable of all is, his cutting through a Mountain in *Italy*, all by Dint of Chissel, to shorten the *Flaminian Way*; whence it is vulgarly call'd the *Bored Rock*, which *Aurelius Victor*, in the Life of *Vespasian*, relates after this Manner: *The Cities were renew'd with notable Ornaments, throughout all Countries under the Roman Jurisdiction. The Ways were made good with mighty Works: Then were Mountains dug thro' for a direct Passage to the Flaminian Way, which is vulgarly call'd Pertusa Petra, the pierced Rock.* Such as have seen that Mountain in our Days, say it is a Part of

of the *Appennine*, near a Place call'd *Furlo*; and that its Cragginess obstructing the Straitness of the *Flaminian* Way, the Emperor *Vespasian* caus'd it to be dug clean through, in the Nature of a continu'd Vault, for the Space of 200 Geometrical Paces, which make 1000 Feet in Length. Over one of the Entrances or Mouths made like an Arch, is still to be seen the following Inscription, which declares who made it:

Smetius,
fol. 1. Tab. 3.
Grut. p. 149.
n. 7.

IMP. CÆSAR. AUGUSTUS.
VESPASIANUS. PONT. MAX.
TRIB. POTEST. VII. IMP. XXVIII. COS. VIII.
CENSOR. FACIUND. CURAVIT.

4. Now whereas the Emperors, who carry'd on the Works of the Highways, do seem to have been particularly intent, above all others, on those of the Province of *Spain*; so it appears by some ancient Inscriptions, that *Vespasian* repair'd some of them; among which, is that which runs from *Capara* to *Merida*, Towns 110 *Italian* Miles distant from one another, according to *Antoninus* his Itinerary. This is verify'd by an Inscription cut on a Column still to be seen in *Spain*, either at *Tarascon* or at *Merida*, Authors varying about the Place.

Smet. fol.
145. 6.
Prut. 154. 3.
Florianus
Ocampius
apud Suri-
ram, p. 584.
hunc lapi-
dem dicit
esse in via
quæ Argen-
tea dicitur.

IMP. CÆSAR. VESPASIANUS. AUG.
PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. II.
IMP. VII. COS. III. DES. IIII.
P. P.
VIAM. A. CAPPARA. AD. EMERITAM.
AUG. USQUE. IMPENSA. SUA.
RESTITUIT.

5. *Vespasian* was the first Emperor that left his own lawful Children to succeed him in the Empire, the eldest of whom was *Titus*, for his Humanity, and

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sweet Disposition call'd, *the Delight of Mankind*. I find no other Memorial of any Work done by him on the Highways, but one only Inscription, said to be at *Merida*, by which we may guess that he made Part of one of the Roads in that Country. The Inscription is this :

IMP. TITUS. CÆS. VESP.
AUG. PON. M. TRIB. P. V.
COS. VIII. P. P. GENERIS,
HUMANI. AMOR. ET. DE
SIDERIUM. ETIAM. VI.

Grut.
155.3.

IIII.

I cannot tell but that another Inscription, still to be seen at another Place, call'd *Epila*, on the Road from *Zaragoza* to *Merida*, of one of *Vespasian's* Sons, may be his ; but the Name being worn out with Age, we cannot be sure to which of the two Brothers it belongs. It is as follows :

..... SAR.
..... SIANI,
..... S. AUG. GER.
..... P. VIII. COS. XI.
..... TESTAT. P. P.
..... ECORR..... P. T.
..... TES. RESTIT.
..... CC. LXXXIX.

Grut.
155.2.

XC. LXIX.
VII.

It is likely this good Emperor, had his Reign been longer, would have done more; but dying at the End of two Years, two Months, and 20 Days, his Brother *Domitian* succeeded him, who following his Father's Example, carry'd on the Works of the Highways, both in *Italy* and *Spain*; for it was he who made the Road from *Sinuessa* to *Puzzolo*, which joining to, and being a Branch of the *Appian Way*, he caus'd to be as nobly pav'd; looking upon it as a Shame, that an Emperor's Work should be any wise inferior either in Matter or Workmanship, to that of a Censor. Thus is it laid with large square Falgs, and in some Places with square Marble, as shall be declar'd more at large when we shall speak of the several Surfaces of the Imperial Highways. This is

Lib. 67.

the Way *Dion* speaks of in the Reign of *Domitian*, saying, *At the same Time, the Road betwixt Sinuessa and Puteoli was pav'd.* It is this same that *Statius* describes in such lofty and lively Manner, by the Name of *Via Domitiana*, or *Domitian's Highway*. He finish'd a great Road in *Spain*, which had been begun by his Father; but left off and intermitted, through the Knavery of the publick Undertakers, on whom he laid heavy Fines, and declar'd them incapable of any publick Employment for the future; as appears by the following Inscription found at *Medina* on a Pillar, that shows the Miles:

IMP. DOMITIAN. VESP.
 CÆS. AUG. GERM. P. M.
 OPUS. PATERN. NEQUITIA.
 PUBLICANOR. INFECTUM:
 EA. GENTE. MALE. MULCTATA.
 ET. OMNI. IN. POSTERUM.
 MUNERE. PUBLICO. PRIV.
 CONFICI. JUSSIT.
 LXXXVIII.

6. But

6. But if ever Prince was expensive on the Highways after *Augustus*, it was principally the good Emperor *Trajan*, who has left Monuments of his Magnificence in paving the Roads, both within the City of *Rome*, and throughout *Italy*; as also through a great Part of the Empire, which he carry'd farther into the Eastern Countries than any of his Predecessors, or Successors. First, within *Rome*, he pav'd a great Street, from him call'd *Via Trajana*, the *Trajan Way*, of which *Pub. Victor* makes mention, *Regione Urbis XIV*.

7. As for *Italy*, this good Prince left not any one Way that stood in need of Repairs, but what he put into a good Condition; which *Galen*, who liv'd in his Days, testifies in his 9th Book *de Methodo medendi*, cap. 8. where speaking of *Hippocrates's* Books, he says; It is true, in them that great Physician first shew'd the Way how to cure; but that, as the first Inventor, and who had none to level the Road, he has not put all that belongs to Physick into due Order; and according to the ancient Method of Writing in his Days, has treated of those Subjects in an obscure Manner: And to express it briefly, says this Author, he seems to me to have laid open all the Way to Physick; yet so, as that it requires Care and Diligence for the perfecting of it. Then using a proper Simile drawn from the Highways of the Empire, especially those of *Italy*, for the better explaining of his Notion, he adds; That *Hippocrates's* Works are like some old Ways in the World; some Part whereof is either muddy, or full of Stones, or Thorns, or too steep to ascend, or dangerous to descend, or beset with Savage Beasts, or impassable by Reason of the deep and wide Rivers that cross them, or too long, too rugged and uneven. Then coming to confine himself to the Ways of *Italy*, he says; All the Ways in *Italy* being in this Condition, *Trajan* repair'd them; either paving with Stone, or raising those Parts with high Banks which were wet or muddy; cleansing

cleansing those that were over-run with Briers and Brambles, and laying Bridges over the Rivers that were impassable; cutting out a shorter Way, where it was longer than needed. But if it were any where uneasy by reason of a steep Hill, turning it an easier Way. In case it was beset with wild Beasts, or Desert, removing it thence, and carrying it through Places inhabited, and levelling what was rugged.

8. I have put this in our own Tongue, for the Sake of those who do not understand the *Latin*, and because it plainly expresses the Manner of making the Highways, and the Difficulties that were to be surmounted to render them easy; as also to make known the Greatness of that Prince's Spirit, and give some general Notion of the immense Sums of Money he must have expended in so many Repairs, which are here only set down in the Gross; for should we come to Particulars, it would surpass even Astonishment. But I cannot pass by his Works at the Lake *Pontia*, which may be compar'd to *Hercules's* Labours cutting off the Heads of *Hydra*; for as those who have expounded the Poetical Fables, say the *Hydra* was no other than an inhabitable Morass, proceeding from seven Springs perpetually running into it, which *Hercules* stopp'd by heaping Earth on the Marsh; so *Trajan* caus'd that Lake to be fill'd up, and carry'd the *Appian* Way across it in a strait Line for above 15 *Italian* Miles in Length. But for the better conceiving the Magnificence of this Work, it is to be understood, that this Lake, or Morass of *Pontia*, was formerly only a Parcel of Canals, or Trenches, partly navigable, running from *Forum Appii*, to the Temple of the Goddess *Ferronia*, near *Terracina*, for 15 or 16 Miles; which Trenches were of such Extent, that within the Compass of them, there were formerly 23 Towns, before their Water overflow'd the Country; as *Mutianus*, who

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who was thrice Consul in *Rome*, has left in Writing. *Appius* paving his Highway, and meeting with this Obstacle, was forc'd to take a great Compass about, to bring it to *Terracina*. To avoid which, Travellers us'd to embark in the Evening upon the Lake at *Forum Appii*, and making their Way all Night, as was usual, they came near to *Terracina* to land, and fall again into the *Appian* Way. This *Horace* testifies he did once, going from *Rome* to *Brindez*, which he so pleasantly describes in the fifth Satyr of his first Book, where he forgets not this Night's Voyage. Those who went from *Terracina* to *Rome*, took the same Conve- niency to shorten the Way, as *Strabo*

tells us in these Words: *But the Lib. 5. Geograph.*
Trench, or Canal, meets the Appian

Way, and that in several Places, as you go from Terra- cina to Rome, which is also fill'd by the Waters of the River, and of the Marsh. They generally sail along it by Night; so that they who imbark when it grows dark, landing when the Sun rises, go on the rest of the Appian Way. And as *Pliny* sets it down for

a notable Miracle, that the Lake *Lib. 3. cap. 5.*

Pontia, now call'd *Aufente Palude* by

the *Italians*, should in a Moment drown so great a Country, containing 23 Towns; so may we say it was a miraculous Work *Trajan* perform'd in filling up that troublesome Marsh, like another *Hercules*; and forcing it by great and spacious Banks, not only to bear the Burden of the *Appian* Way, which he carry'd directly athwart it to *Terracina*, but also many magnificent Structures and Bridges, restoring a great Part of that Lake to its first Nature of firm Land.

This *Dion* hints at by the by, when

he says, *At the same Time he pass'd Lib. 68.*

the *Pontian* Marshes with Stones, and

by the Ways Sides built magnificent Structures, and Bridges.

9. Besides all this, to make *Italy* the more convenient for Travelling, he drew from the same *Appian Way* a great Road beginning at *Benevento*, and running to *Brindez*, for 200 *Italian Miles*, which appears by an inscrib'd Stone, which is in the Town of *Afculum*, and expresses the same handsomly in these Words:

Grut.
p. 151.
n. 8.

V.
IMP. CÆSAR.
DIVI. NERVÆ. F.
NERVA. TRAJANUS.
AUG. GERM. DACIC.
PONT. MAX. TR. POT.
XIII. IMP. VI. COS. V.
P. P.
VIAM A. BENEVENTO.
BRUNDUSIUM. PECUN.
SUA. FECIT.

10. In short, all the Works *Trajan* did in *Italy*, are great and wonderful; but if we may believe what *Jerome Zurita* says of those he perform'd in *Spain*, they seem yet greater, and more magnificent; for this Author, who is a learned Man, and made diligent Enquiry after such Things throughout all *Spain*, where he was born, says; That *Trajan* adorn'd and beautify'd all *Spain*, which is every Way much larger than *Italy*, by continual raising Banks, erecting of Roads and Bridges, with wonderful Splendour and Magnificence; and that in these Works, above all other Things in the World, the Power and Grandeur of the *Roman Empire* truly appears, which he expresses thus: But the Splendour of the *Roman Empire's Magnificence* shin'd out under the Emperor *Trajan*, more than under all other Emperors; for he beautify'd

Præfatio ne in Itinerarium Antonini.

tify'd and adorn'd almost all Spain, in all its Extent more wonderfully and gloriously with Bridges, and continu'd Repairs, and raising of Highways. There are many ancient Inscriptions in Spain which testify this Truth, one of which I here present you with, as I took it out of *Andreas Resendus*; who assures us he took it himself from one of the ancient Pillars, which serv'd to shew the Miles on the Way from *Lisbon* to *Merida*, which being partly defac'd, is as follows:

IMP. CÆS

.

.

TRAJANUS. AUG.

GER. PONT MAX.

TRIB. POTESTAT

IS. II. RESTITUIT.

X

I.

Grut.
p. 155.
n. 8.

G

[CHAP.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of *Trajan's* Successors, who carry'd on the Works of the Highways.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>The several Names of Adrian, Trajan's Successor.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Ways made by him in Italy.</i></p> <p>3. <i>Ways made by him in Spain and Portugal.</i></p> | <p>4. <i>Bridges and Ways made by Antoninus Pius.</i></p> <p>5. <i>A Highway in Holland repair'd by M. Aurelius, and L. Verus.</i></p> |
|--|--|

1. *ADrian*, *Trajan's* Successor in the Roman Empire, is one of those who made new Ways, or repair'd the old, as well in *Italy*, as other Parts of the Roman Dominion; which appears by several ancient Inscriptions, where he generally styles himself the Son of *Trajan*, and Grandson of *Nerva*; and as for himself, he often takes all the three Names, *Imperator*, *Nerva*, *Trajanus*, *Adrianus*, besides that of *Elius* belonging to the Family from which he descended.

2. This Emperor, who was one of the most accomplish'd Men in the World in all Arts and Sciences, and particularly in Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, did not neglect the Structure and Paving of the Highways. For the *Cassian* Way being much broken in his Days, he caus'd it to be repair'd equally all along from the Confines of *Chiusi* to *Florence*, which are 87 Miles asunder, according to *Antoninus's* Itinerary; or 81, according to the Inscription on a Pillar shewing the Miles, still standing on *Monte Pulciano*, as follows:

I M P.

3.
Inscri
the C

In
near
Miles
that
these

IMP. CÆSAR.
 DIVI. TRAJANI.
 PARTHICI. FIL.
 DIVI. NERVÆ. NEP.
 TRAJANUS. HADRIANUS.
 AUG. PONT. MAX.
 TRIB. POT. VII. COS. III.
 VIAM. CASSIAM.
 VETUSTATE. COLLAPSAM.
 A. CLUSINORUM. FINIBUS.
 FLORENTIAM. PERDUXIT.
 MILLIA. PASSUUM.
 XXCI.

156. 24

3. As for *Spain*, we may produce the following
 Inscription as a Monument of what he perform'd near
 the City *Braga*.

IMP. CÆS. TRAJAN.
 HADRIAN. AUG.
 PONT. MAX. TRIB.
 POT. XVIII. COS. III.
 P. P. A. BRACARA.
 AUG.
 M. P. XIII.

156. 35

In *Portugal*, by the Romans call'd *Provincia Lusitania*,
 near *Cappara*, there still stands a Pillar showing the
 Miles, with the following Inscription, which proves
 that he repair'd a Highway, which it mentions in
 these Words :

Smet.
fol. 2.
n. 2.
Grut.
156.1.

IMP. CÆS.
DIVI. TRAJANI.
PARTHICI. F.
DIVI. NERVÆ.
NEPOS. TRAJA
NUS. HADRIANUS.
AUG. PONTIF. MAX.
TRIB. POT. V. COS. IIII.
RESTITUIT.
CIL.

There is a Highway pav'd in the said Province, from the Town of *Chaves*, by the Ancients call'd *Aquæ Flaviæ*, to *Braga*, and on it several Pillars showing the Miles; two of which have been carry'd into the Church of the *Angel Guardian*, in the said City; the Inscriptions whereof sufficiently testify, that the said Road is the Work of the Emperor *Adrian*, and agree exactly in all Things except the Number of Miles.

156.4.

IMP. CÆS. TRAJAN.
HADRIAN. AUG.
P. M. TR. POT. XX. REFECIT.
AQUIS. FLAVIS.
M. P. II.

4. *Antoninus*, for his natural Goodness call'd *Pius*, succeeded the Emperor *Adrian*: Of whose promoting the Work of the Highways, I find no Monument but only four Inscriptions; one of them taken from a Marble Table set in the Wall of an Inn at *Cyperanum*, a Town built on the Ruins of the ancient Town of *Fregella*, which testifies, that he repair'd a certain Bridge ready to fall with Age.

IMP.

IMP. CÆSAR.
 DIVI ADRI-
 ANI FILIUS. DIVI.
 TRAJANI.
 PARTHICI. NEPOSS.
 DIVI NERVÆ. PR. N.
 T. ÆLIUS. HADRIANUS.
 ANTONINUS.
 AUGUSTUS. PIUS.
 PONTIFEX. MAX.
 TRIBUNIC. POTEST. III.
 COS. III. P. P.
 OPUS. PONTIS.
 VETUSTATE. CONLAPS.
 RESTITUIT.

Smer.
 fol. 3.
 n. 7.

The 2d is on a Bridge over the River *Vulturnus*, in the City of *Capua*; by which it appears, that he there repair'd a Highway broken up by the Inundation of the neighbouring Waters:

IMP. CÆS. AUG. M. AURE
 LIUS. ANTONINUS. PIUS. FE
 LIX. AUG. PARTHICUS. MAX.
 BRITANNICUS. MAX. P. M. P. P.
 COS. III. DES. III.
 VIAM. INUNDATIONE. AQUÆ.
 INTERRUPTAM. RESTITUIT.

Smer.
 fol. 1.
 n. 2.
 Grut. p.
 151.n.4.

The 3d shews us, that he also made some Repairs in *Spain*, near *Malaga*, in the Territory of *Sevil*; and is taken from a Pillar of the Miles, in those Parts.

156. 3.

M. AURELIUS. AN
TONINUS. PIUS.
MAX. AUG. PARTH.
MAX. BRIT. MAX.
PONT. MAX. TRIB.
POT. XVI. IMP.
III. COS. VIII. RES
TITUIT.

The 4th is in *Germany*, on the Way from *Augsburg* to a Town call'd *Monachium*, where the said Emperor repair'd the Ruins of several Bridges and Highways, as this Inscription declares, though defac'd in several Places :

156. 6.

.....
.....
.. P. CAESAR. M.....
ANTONINUS. PIUS. AUG. TRIB.
POT. III. PROCOS.....
VIAS. ET. PONTES. REST.
AB. AUG. M. P.
XXXI.

5. *M. Aurelius*, surnam'd the Philosopher, succeeded *Antoninus*, and took for his Associate in the Empire, *L. Aurelius Verus*, who reign'd but a short Time with him ; during the which they jointly advanc'd the Works of some Highways in the *Low-Countries*, as appears by a carv'd Stone at the *Hague* in *Holland*, on a Pillar of Miles : The Inscription is this :

IMP.

IMP. CÆS.
M. AUREL. ANTO
NINO. AUG. PONT.
MAX. TRIB. POT. XVII.
CO. XIII. ET.
IMP. CÆS.
L. AUREL. VERO. AUG.
TR. POT. II. COS. II.
A. M. A. E. C.
M. P. XII.

136.7.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Highways made by *Septimius Severus*,
and his Sons.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>The Works of Septimius Severus, and his Sons.</i>
2. <i>Two Highways in Italy made by Severus and Caracalla.</i> | 3. <i>Highways made by them in Spain.</i>
4. <i>A Road made by Helio-gabalus in Spain.</i>
5. <i>Ways made by the Father, and Sons, in Germany.</i> |
|---|---|

1. **T**HE first Monuments I find of publick Works on the Highways, after *Marcus Aurelius*, are of *Septimius Severus* and his Sons; and these must be taken from the Pillars on the Roads that mark'd the Miles, and other ancient Stones, the *Roman History* leaving us in the Dark here, as to this Point. I find that this Emperor and his Sons, both jointly and separately, made several new Highways, as well in *Italy* as in *Spain*, and some Parts of *Germany*.

2. In *Italy*, *Severus*, and his Son *Bassianus Caracalla*, made two new Highways at their own Cost and Charges; the one of them from *Rome*, to a Place call'd *Villa Magna*, of the Length or Position whereof I have found no Account; but by the Inscription here inserted it appears, that they made it be pav'd with Flint, and not gravell'd only, and therefore it may be reckoned among the best Roads in *Italy*.

IMP.

IMP. CÆSAR. DIVI. MARCI.
ANTONINI. PII. GERM. SERMATICI.
FILIUS. DIVI. COMMODI. FRATER. DIVI.
ANTONINI. PII. NEPOS. DIVI. HADRIANI.
PRONEP. DIVI. TRAJANI. PARTHICI.
ABN. DIVI. NERVÆ. ADNEP.
L. SEPTIMIUS. SEVERUS. PIUS. PERTI-
NAX. AUG. ARABIC. ADIAB. PARTHIC. MAX.
PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POT. XV. IMP. XII. COS. III. P. P. ET.
IMP. CÆSAR. IMP. CÆSARIS. L. SEPTIMI.
SEVERI. PII. PERTINACIS. AUG. ARABIC.
ADIAB. PARTH. MAX. FIL. DIVI. MARCI. AN-
TONINI. PII. GERM. SARM. NEPOS. DIVI. ANTO-
NINI. PII. PRONEPOS. DIVI. HADRIANI.
ABNEPOS. DIVI. TRAJANI. PARTH. ADNEP.
M. AURELIUS. ANTONINUS. AUG.
PIUS. FELIX. PONTIF. TRIB. POT. X. IMP. II. COS. III. DES.

FORTISSIMUS. AC. SUPER.
OMNES. FELICISSIMUS.
PRINCEPS.

VIAM. QUÆ. DUCIT. IN. VILLAM. MAGNAM.
SILICE. SUA. PECUNIA. STRAVERUNT.

The other Way made by them in *Italy*, began at *Puzzulo*; but there is no discovering how great it was, or to what Part of *Italy* it went, there being no other Memorial of it, but the following Inscription :

IMP.

157. 7.

IMPERATOR. CÆS. L. SEPTIMIUS. SEVERUS.
 PIUS. PERTINAX. AUGUSTUS. ARABIC.
 ADIAB. PARTHICUS. MAXIMUS. TRIB.
 POT. IX. IMP. XII. COS. II. P. P.
 PROCOS. ET. IMP. CÆS. MARCUS.
 AURELIUS. ANTONINUS. PIUS. AUG.
 TRIB. POT. III. PROCOS. E. VIAS.
 RESTITUIT. A. PUTEOL.

3. In *Spain* the Father and Son carry'd on these Works apart; the first of them about *Merida*, where the following Inscription is to be seen, testifying his Repairing one of the Highways in that Country.

156. 9.

IMP. CÆSAR. DIVI. M. ANTON.
 PII. GERM. SARM. F. DIVI.
 COMMODI. FRAT. DIVI. ANTON.
 PII. NEP. DIVI. HADRIANI.
 PRONEP. DIVI. TRAJANI. PARTH.
 ABNEP. DIVI. NERVÆ. ADNEP.
 L. SEPTIMIUS. SEVERUS. PARTH.
 MAX. AUG. ARAB. ADIABEN.
 PARTH. MAX. PONT. MAX.
 TRIB. POT. VIII. IMP. XI. COS. III.
 PROC. ITER. RESTITUIT.
 LXXII.

His Son in History is generally call'd *Bassianus Caracalla*; but on these Stones, is stil'd by the Name of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius*, given him by his Father in his younger Years. By him alone a certain Highway was made in *Spain*, mention'd in the Inscription on a Pillar to show the Miles, still standing near a Village call'd *Calzada*, as here set down:

IMP.

IMP. CÆSAR. DIVI.
SEPTIMI. SEVERI. PII. ARAB.
AD IAB. PARTHICI. MAX. BRI
TT. MAX. FEL. DIVI. AUR. ANTO.
GERM. SARM. NEP. DIVI. ADRIANI.
ABNEP. DIVI. TRAJANI. PARTHICI.
ADNEP. M. AUREL. ANTONINUS.
PIUS. FELIX AUG. PART.
MAX. BRIT. MAX. GERM.
MAXIM. TRI. PO.
XX. IMP. III. COS. IIII. PP.
PROCOS. FECIT.
CXXXVI.

158. 5.

4. Of *Caracalla*, and a certain Concubine of his, was born *Heliogabalus*, a true Monster of Nature. He did some Work in *Spain*, on a Highway which goes from *Lisbon* to *Ebora*, on which there is still a Pillar shewing the Miles, with this Inscription:

IMP. CÆS. DIVI. ANTONI
NI. PII. MAGNI. FIL.
DIVI. SEPTIMI. SEVERI.
PII. NEPOTI. M. AURE
LIO. ANTONINO.
P. FEL. AUG. PONT. MAX.
TRIB. POT. II. COS. II.
PROC. P. P.
FORTISSIMO. FELICISSI
MOQUE. PRINCIPI.
... . ORA. M. P.
XXII.

158. 3.

5. As

5. As for the Highways by them made in *Germany*, they are, not in that which is call'd the *Great Germany*, included within the *Rhine* and the *Danube*; but in that Part of *Gaul*, which is on this Side the *Rhine*, by the Name of the *Upper* and *Lower Germany*; or else in that Part which lies betwixt the *Danube* and the *Alps*, anciently known by the Name of *Vindelicia* and *Noricum*. The greatest of them all is that which they began at a City call'd *Augusta*; I take it to be *Augusta Vindelicorum*, or *Ausburg*. Wherever it was, by the Inscriptions it appears, that they pav'd the said Road for the Space of 110 Miles at least, and that they had mark'd out the Distances by Pillars at every Mile; for there still remain four alike in all Things, except the Number of Miles. The first of them mark'd out the 33d Mile from *Ausburg*; the other three, the 41st, 42d, and 110th Miles. Here you have the first of them, which shews what the others were:

IMP. CÆSAR. LUCIUS. SEPTIM
IUS. SEVERUS. PIUS. PERTIN
AX. AUG. ARABICUS. ADIAB.
PARTHICUS. MAXIMUS.
PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POT.
VIII. IMP. XII. COS. II. P. P.
PROCOS. ET. IMP. CÆSAR.
MARCUS. AUREL. ANTON
INUS. PIUS. AUG. TRIB.
POT. III. PROCOS. ET. IMP.
P. SEPTIM. GETA. ANTON.
VIAS, ET. PONTES. REST.
AB. AUG. M. P. XXXIII.

The three following Inscriptions are to be seen in other Parts of *Germany*.

The

The first in the Village of *Streetwalt*, about *Salzburg*:

IMP. CÆS. L. SEPTIMIO.
SEVERO. PIO. PERTINACI. AUG.
ARAB. ADIAB. PARTHICO. MAX. 157-1.
BRITAN. MAX. PONTIF. MAX TRIB.
POTES. III. IMP. VII. II. P. P. PROCOS.
ET. IMP. CÆS. M. AUREL. ANTONINO.
PIO. INVICTO. AUG. PARTHICO. MAX.
BRITANNICO. MAX. GERMANICO.
MAX. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POTES. XVI.
IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P. PROCOS. FORTIS
SIMO. AC. FELICISSIMO. PRINCIPI.
DOMINO. INDULGENTISSIMO.
M. P. LI.

The second on the Hill at *Rastadt* in *Stiria*:

IMP. CÆS. F.
PIUS. SEVERUS. PER. AUG.
TRIB. POTES. IX. IMP.
XII. COS. II. P. P. GOTH.
IMP. CÆS. MAR. AU
RE. ANTONINUS. PIUS.
FELIX. AUG. ARAB. GERM.
MAX. ANT. TRIB. POTE.
P. P. PROCON. AT.
M. LIII.

The

The third in *Algow*, a County of *Suabia* in *Germany*,
in a Monastery of *S. Benedict*.

157. 8.

IMP. CÆSAR. L. SEPTIMUS.
SEVERUS. PIUS. PERTINAX. AUG.
ARABIC. ADIAB. PARTHICUS. MAX.
PONTIFEX. MAX. TRIB. POT. VIII.
IMP. XII. COS. II. P. P. PROCOS. ET.
IMP. CÆSAR. M. AURELIUS.
ANTONINUS. PIUS. AUG. TRIB.
POT. IIII. PRO. COS.
VIAS. ET. PONTES. RESTI. A. CAMB.
M. P. XI.

6. Now though it looks as if *Alexander Severus*, a good and wise Prince coming after so many wicked and monstrous Emperors, gain'd no great Reputation for his Works on the Highways; yet considering that the Bridges are a great Part of them, he did very much, in regard he repair'd all the great Number of Bridges built by *Trajan*, besides many he-entirely made himself. And it being the Custom to inscribe the Names of the Emperors on Bridges, Ports, and the Pillars that were on the Ways, to show the Number of Miles, he left *Trajan's* Name on all the Bridges he repair'd, without suffering his own to be inserted, as appears by these Words of *Lampridius*: *He repair'd the Bridges made by Trajan almost in all Places: He also built some new ones: But he preserv'd the Name of Trajan on those that were repair'd.*

CHAP.

C H A P. XX.

Of the other Emperors, who carry'd on the Work of the Highways, till the Decay of the Western Empire.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>How long the Work of the Highways was continu'd.</i> 2. <i>The Authority of Inscriptions on Stone, unquestionable.</i> 3. <i>Why there are so many Inscriptions concerning the Western Parts of Europe, and so few of Greece, Asia and Africk.</i> 4. <i>Ways made by Maximinus, and his Son Maximus.</i> 5. <i>Others by Galienus and Tacitus.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. <i>Other Ways by Dioclesian, and Maximian.</i> 7. <i>Others by Constantine, Constans, Maxentius, and Gratian.</i> 8. <i>Why the following Emperors did not work at the Highways.</i> 9. <i>That the Nations which destroy'd the Empire, had not sufficient Means for those Works.</i> 10. <i>The Conclusion concerning the last Emperors.</i> |
|---|--|

1. **T**HE Race of the *Antonins* failing, the Roman Empire fell to several strange Families; who rather by Force than any Right, one after another, seiz'd the Sovereignty: But whatsoever Changes there happened, the Works of the Highways were never entirely laid aside, till the total Decay of the Empire in the West; but some Emperor or other has always continu'd them both in *Italy*, and the Provinces.

2. This appears not in History, which fails us in this Part; but by Stones inscrib'd, to which we are oblig'd to have Recourse in this Case of Necessity: However, this is a sure Recourse, and infallibly true, since

since there is no Doubt, but that those Inscriptions taken from the ancient Pillars, showing the Miles, were set up by those very Emperors whose Names they bear; or by their Commissioners, who erected those Pillars in Honour of the Emperors their Masters then living. So that the ancient Inscriptions to be seen dispers'd about the World, are to serve us for authentick Records, and for true and certain Originals.

3. By these Inscriptions we plainly perceive, that the Emperors in them mention'd, have promoted the Work of them, as well in *Italy*, as in *Gaul* and *Spain*; but nothing appears in them of the Works of *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africk*. Yet it does not follow, that the making and paving of Highways was not as common there as in these Western Parts, or that the Emperors did not erect such Monuments of their Work every where; but the Case is, that History makes no mention of the Ways made by the Successors of the *Antonins* in those Eastern and Southern Countries, no more than in these Western; which Defect is common to all Provinces of the Empire; besides which, *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africk*, also fail in being destitute of those ancient Inscriptions, for the Reasons we shall show immediately. The Cause why we have such great and curious Collections of Inscriptions in *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and some Provinces of *Germany* and *Hungary*; and why, on the contrary, we have but few Monuments of other Parts of the World; is, that all these Western Countries have always maintain'd the Use and Knowledge of Letters, which have improv'd, and as it were awak'd out of a deep Lethargy chiefly in these latter Ages; for it is less than an hundred Years since curious Persons have apply'd themselves to search after Medals, Inscriptions, and other ancient Monuments, which they have communicated to us in their Books. This Help we wanted before; so that

but

but 50 Years ago we could not have given such Information in this Work concerning the Subject we now treat of. For this we are beholding to *Onaphrius Panvinus*, *Joseph Scaliger*, *Marcus Velferus*, *Andreas Resendius*, *Hieronimus Sarisa*, and several other learned and curious Persons, who have made us acquainted with so many ancient Inscriptions they have found out in the Western Europe; of all which, *Smetius*, *Lipsius*, and lastly, *Janus Gruterus*, have made good and large Collections. But as for the Ways of Greece, Asia and Africk, no Wonder that we have so few Monuments of them in Medals, ancient Inscriptions, and otherwise, since those Countries are, as well as we, destitute of History; and besides, having been long overrun by *Turks*, *Saracens*, and other barbarous Nations, they have no Persons that are willing or able to produce a Collection of the Inscriptions that may be found there; but on the contrary, those savage Nations suppress, over-turn, and destroy them as fast as they come in their Way.

4. Being thus reduc'd to the Necessity of relying on Inscriptions, I will range them all in the same Order I have hitherto observ'd, which is that of the Emperors; and whereas *Maximinus* and his Son, whom History calls *C. Julius Verus Maximus*, are the next Successors to the *Antonins*. I will here, in the first Place, produce three Inscriptions found in Spain; the two first of the Father and Son together, as follows:

Near Braga
in Portugal.

Grut.

p. 151. 5.

IMP. CÆS. C. JULIUS. VERUS. MAXIMINUS. PIUS.
F. AUG. GERM. MAX. DAC. MAX. SARM.

MAX. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. V. IMP. VII.

P. P. COS. PROCOS.

ET. C. JULIUS. VERUS. MAX. NOBILISSIMUS.

CÆSAR. GERM. MAX. DAC. MAX. SARM. MAX.

PRINC. JUVENTUTIS. FILIUS. D. N. IMP. C.

JULII. VERI. MAXIMINI. P. F. AUG.

VIAS. ET. PONTES. TEMPORE. VETUSTATIS.

COLLAPSO. RESTITVERUNT.

CURANTE. Q. DECIO. LEG. AUGG. PRET.

PRÆF. A. BRAC. AUG.

M.

P.

The 2d almost alike in all Respects, is on the Way
to Lisbon :

158. 6.

IMP. CÆS. C. JULIUS:

VERUS. MAXIMINUS. PIUS. FE

LIX. INVICTUS. AUG. PONT.

MAX. PATER. PATRIÆ. TRI

BUNITIÆ. POTESTATIS. TER. COS.

GERMANICUS. MAX. DACICUS.

MAX. SARMATICUS. MAX. ET.

C. JULIUS. VERUS. MAXIMUS.

NOBILISSI. CÆSAR. PRINCEPS.

JUVENTUTIS. GERMANICUS. MAX.

DACICUS. MAX. SARMATICUS. MAX.

IMP. CÆS. CAL. JULI. VERI. MAXI

MINI. PII. FEL. AUG. GERMANICI.

MAX. DACICI. MAX. SARMATI.

MAX. FORTISSIMI. CÆSA

RIS. FILIUS.

III.

The

The 3d, which is only the Father's or the Son's, is on another Pillar on the same Road :

IMP.
CÆS. CAIUS.
JUL. VER.
NOB. IMPERA
TOR. V. TRIBUNI
CI. A. PO
TEST. COS. PRO. P.
PATRIÆ

And for as much as the Son, in two of the Inscriptions, styles himself *Prince of the Youth*, I cannot tell whether that may be his, found in *France* by *Pauliaquet*, and sent to me by the Learned *Savaron*, President of *Clermont*, in *Auvergne*; by which it appears that one of the *Cæsars*, who calls himself *Prince of the Youth*, repair'd a Bridge and some Roads in that Country, which were going to Ruin with Age.

CÆSAR. PRINCEPS.
JUVENTUTIS.
PONTEM. ET.
VIAS. VETUS
TATE. COLLAP.
RESTITUIT.

5. I find nothing of the five following Emperors; but as for *Gallienus*, the 6th, this Inscription concerning him is to be seen near *Merida*, which testifies he took Care of the Roads of *Italy*, *Gaul* and *Spain*; and that he repair'd a Way in *Portugal*, which was broke in several Places.

158.9.

GALIENUS. IMP. CÆS.
 AUG. CLEMENS. PIUS.
 URBE. ÆDIF. RESTAUR.
 AD. BONUM. ITAL. GAL.
 HISP. PUBLICUM. CON
 VERSUS. HOC. ITER. VA
 RIE. PER. PROVINC.
 INTERRUPT. REFICI.
 IMPERAVIT.
 LXXXVIII.

Next comes *Tacitus*, Successor to *Aurelianus*, of whom we have these Two Inscriptions, on the same Way from *Lisbon* to *Merida*, on two Columns, showing the Miles, containing what follows :

Ex Andrea
 Refendio.

IMP.
 CÆSARI.
 CLAUDI
 O. TACITO.
 PIO. F. IN
 VICTO
 AUG.
 PONT. M.
 TRIB. PO
 TESTA
 TIS. II.
 COS. PRO.

IMP.
 CÆSARI.
 M.
 CLAUDIO.
 TACITO.
 PIO. F. IN
 VICTO.
 AUG. PONTIF.
 M. TRIB.
 POTESTA
 TIS. H. COS.
 P. P.

6. After him follow in the Number of Emperors, who have promoted this Sort of Work, *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, and those of the Race of *Constantine*. The first Monument of whom is a Fragment of a Pillar to show the Miles, exactly round, to be seen at *Pavia* in the Street call'd *Santa Croce*, which shows that those three Emperors made some Ways in those Parts :

IMP.

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IMP. CÆS. C. VAL.
 DIOCLESIANUS. P. P.
 AUG. ET. IMP. CÆS.
 M. AUR. VAL. ET.
 MAXIMIANUS. P. P.
 AUG. ET. FL. VAL. CON
 STANTINUS. ET. GAL.
 VAL. MAXIMIANUS.
 NOBIL. CÆS. M.

159. 1.

The next is of Maximian alone, near the City Eboræ
 in Portugal, taken from a Pillar standing in a Place
 call'd Tabularios :

IMP. CÆS.
 MAXI
 MIANO.
 PIO. FELI
 CI. AUG. EBO
 RA. M. P.
 XII.

158. 10.

7. There are two of Constantine alone in Italy ; the
 one at Verona, ad Sanctum Petrum Carianum :

D. N. CONSTANTINUS.
 MAXIMUS.
 VIII.
 P.
 XXXX.

159. 3.

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The

The other on a Column standing near the Church
of our Lady in *Parma*, cut in very coarse Letters :

159. 6.

D. N. IMP. CÆS. AUG. M.
CONSTANTINO. P. P. A. A. M.
VICTORI. AUG. PONT. MAX.
MAXIMO. TRIBUN. MILIT.
POTESTAT. XXIII. IMP. AN.
XXII. COS. VII. R. P. A. A. M.
PRO. COS.
RERUM. UMANARUM.
OPTIMO. PRINCIPI.
DIVI. CONSTANTII. FELLO.
B. R. P. NATO.
I.

Here follows a third of the same Emperor, to be
seen at *Merida* :

159. 4.

IMP. CÆS. FLAVIUS.
CONSTANTIN. AUG.
PACIS. ET. JUSTITIÆ.
CULT. PUB. QUIETIS.
FUND. RELIGIONIS.
ET. FIDEL. AUCTOR.
REMISSO. UBIQUE.
TRIBUTO. FINITIME.
PROVINC. ITER.
RESTAUR. FECIT.
CXIII.

At *Verona* we have this of *Constantius*, the Son of
Constantine, ad D. *Ambrosium Vallis Policellæ* :

159. 5.

IMP. CÆS.
FL. VAL.
CONSTANTIO.
M. P. VIII.

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The next is of *Maxentius*, who took upon him to be Emperor for some Time; it is in the Territory of *Verona*:

IMP. CÆSARI. M. AURELIO
VALERIO. MAXENTIO. P.
FEL. INVICTO. AUG.
M. P. XIII. C. L. M.

Lastly, this is to be seen at *Merida*, which shows that the Emperor *Gratian* bestow'd some Repairs on the Roads of *Portugal*:

IMP. CÆS. GRATIANUS.
PIUS. FELIX. MAX. VICT.
AC. TRIUMPH. SEMPER. AUG.
PONT. MAX. GERM. MAX.
ALAMANUS. MAX. FRANC.
MAX. GOTH. M. TRI. P. III.

IMP. II. COS. III. PRIM. P. PP.
RESTITUIT.
C. XI.

8. It is not at all to be wondred at, if after these Emperors none of their Successors be found to have made new Ways, or to have repair'd the old, and that for two Reasons. The one, because, through the Care of the preceding Emperors, all the Provinces had been provided of Highways, those Works having been continu'd for above 300 Years, as well at the Expence of the Publick, as of the Emperors, and of private Persons. The second Reason, forasmuch as soon after the Reign of *Theodosius*, there happened such an Irruption and Inundation of barbarous Nations through-

out the Empire, and especially the Western Parts of it, that *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and even *Italy* it self, were over-run, without excepting the City of *Rome*, the Head of so great and flourishing an Empire. For it was soon after *Theodosius* the Great, that through the Treachery of a *Gildo*, a *Ruffinus*, and a *Stilico*, born for the Overthrow of the *Roman* Power; and through the civil Discord among the great Ones, that the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Huns*, the *Gepids*, the *Burgundians*, the *Franks*, and other Northern Nations, broke into the ancient Borders of the Empire; and having secur'd the Passes of the *Rhine* and *Danube*, which were ill guarded, they made themselves Masters of the afore-said Provinces, and even of *Africk*, which the *Vandals* took from the Emperors; who having too much to do to defend themselves against so many Enemies at once, had no Leisure to attend the Works of the Highways, and other publick Structures, which the Felicity, Peace and Tranquility of the Empire, had given Opportunity to begin, prosecute, and bring to Perfection.

9. As for the Foreign Nations that extended their Conquests in the Empire, they had neither Courage, nor Ability to continue such Undertakings; for every Nation holding its own Share apart, and cut off from the Total, had Occasion to preserve it by Force of Arms, as being new Conquests, not well secur'd, and could not supply such Works, which had their Rise from the Entireness of the Empire, as from a Body all whose Members were well united under one Head. A Body grown up to its full Greatness and Strength by several Hundreds of Years continu'd Course of Victories; and whose Members being once divided, and as it were amputated and depriv'd of the common Life of the whole, found themselves too weak, not only to begin, but to maintain such Works already finish'd. So that what still remains in *France*, and
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other Countries of the ancient Empire, is the Work of the *Roman* Empire, who made those Ways capable of lasting 15 or 16 Ages after them.

10. But to conclude this Discourse of the Emperors, and of the Money by them laid out on the Works of the Highways; what Sum can we imagine was expended by those 25 or 26 above mention'd, without reckoning the others, whose Works are not yet come to our Knowledge. It is most certain, the Sum is inestimable; and that in comparison of it, the Sums lay'd out on the Temple of *Solomon*, and the seven Wonders of the World, will appear but very small. This will be more easily believ'd and comprehended, when in the following Book we shall see the immense Quantity of Materials employ'd about those Works, which in Greatness, Extent and Bulk, exceed all that ever was done in the World by the Hands of Men.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Money laid out by private Persons on the Works of the Highways.

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| <p>1. Three Sorts of Cash of private Persons, disbur'd on the Highways.</p> <p>2. The first Sort consists in the Booty taken from Enemies.</p> <p>3. From what Fund the immense Greatness of that Cash proceeded.</p> <p>4. Money brought to Rome by Pompey, Cæsar, and Paulus Æmilius.</p> <p>5. Great Sums got by the Gold Crowns, call'd Aurum Coronarium.</p> | <p>6. The wonderful Greatness, and Number of those Crowns.</p> <p>7. The great Difference betwixt the Time of the popular Commonwealth, and that of the Emperors, as to the Booty-Money.</p> <p>8. Some great Works perform'd by Persons that had triumph'd out of the Booty-Money.</p> <p>9. The Conclusion concerning the great Sum of Booty-Money expended on the Highways.</p> |
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1. **N**Ext to the publick Treasure, and that of the Emperors, we must consider the vast Sums laid out by private Persons in making new Ways, and repairing the old throughout the Empire, both in Italy and the Provinces; which are unaccountable. But to give some Notion of them, they shall be reduc'd to three Sorts: Part expended by express Command from the Emperors; Part by publick Law; and another Part out of meer Goodness and Generosity; which make three plentiful Sources, besides those before mention'd, of which we shall here treat orderly.

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2. We will begin with the Booty-Money taken from Enemies, which *Augustus Caesar* order'd should be thus expended by the greatest and richest Citizens of his Days. It was said above, that this fortunate Prince being resolv'd to repair the *Flaminian Way*, divided the others among the richest Senators of *Rome*, to repair them at their own Expence. These Senators were the great Lords of the Senate, who had before been honour'd with Triumphs. The Money they disburs'd on this Work, was not of their Paternal Estates, but what they had made of the Plunder of Enemies, which they call'd *Pecunias Manubiales*; which *Dion* expresses thus, *Augustus commanded those that triumph'd, to perform some Works out of the Booty as a Memorial of their Exploits*: And *Suetonius* gives us to understand, that these Works were rather those of the Highways than any other; where he says, That he undertaking the *Flaminian Way*, divided the others among such as had triumph'd, to be repair'd by them out of the Spoils of the Enemies.

Sueton. in Augusto, cap. 30.

3. For the better understanding what that Money amounted to, it is to be understood, that it proceeded both from the Goods, and from the Persons of the conquer'd People, whom they sold as Slaves. In the first Place, This Treasure consisted as well in unwrought Gold and Silver, as in Coin; as also in Statues and Images of the same Metals; in Crowns, Plate, and all Sorts of Vessels; in precious Stones and Paintings; in Silks and rich Garments, and other valuable Moveables taken from the Conquer'd. Besides, vast Sums were rais'd by selling the Prisoners of War, whom their Kindred redeem'd, or else they were sold for Slaves. *Livy*, speaking of the Triumph of *Lucius Papirius Cursor*, gives us an Instance hereof, saying, *There was carry'd by, Twenty five hundred, and three*

three thousand Weight of Massive Brass : That Brass was said to be rais'd out of the Prisoners : Of the Silver taken from the Cities, a Thousand three hundred and thirty.

4. Though these Sums seem very great, as drawn from so small a Country ; they are nothing compar'd to those Pompey brought to Rome at his three Triumphs, and Julius Cæsar in five, after they had in a manner plunder'd Europe, Asia and Africk, of the ancient Treasures of Kings, Princes, Nations, and Bodies Politick, to enrich one only City, So that these Booties far exceeded that which Paulus Æmilius took from Persens King of Macedon, amounting to Five millions of Crowns, without including the Statues and Crowns of Gold, Jewels, Pearls, and Garments of inestimable Value.

5. Should we go about to reckon, but the Crowns of Gold, which the Nations, Princes and Kings, who were Friends and Confederates, sent the Conquerors upon congratulating their Victories, the Value of them would be wonderful, considering their great Number. For whereas in their first Institution, they were free Gifts ; yet afterwards in Process of Time, they became a Due. These Crowns of Gold being settled by Prescription, were converted into Money, and fix'd to a certain Sum payable by every Prince, Province, and Body Politick ; for which Reason the Gold rais'd in Coin, in lieu of those Crowns, was call'd, *Aurum Coronarium*, Crown Gold. These from the Beginning were call'd Triumphal Crowns, as Festus thus expresses it : *The Triumphal Crowns are those made of Gold, which are carry'd before the conquering General ; which in ancient Times, by reason of their Poverty, were of Laurel.*

6. These Crowns were of an extrayagant Bigness, and their Number very great. As for their Bigness, they far exceeded the Heads of those who triumph'd ; and

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and therefore only serv'd to make up the Pomp of their Triumphs, their Diameter being so great, that they would have fitted the Heads of Colossus's, which *Terullian* speaking of them, observes in these few Words: *The Provincial Golden Crowns are now fit for Heads of Statues, not the greatest Heads of Men.* As for the Number, *Paulus Emilius* had 400 carry'd before him in his Triumph over *Macedon*, which had been sent him by Ambassadors from the Towns and Cities of *Greece*, to honour his Victory. *Cn. Manlius* triumphing over the *Gallo Grecians*, had 200; *Q. Flaminius*, 114; and History shows us, that *Julius* and *Augustus Caesar*, had given them by several Provinces, Towns and Corporations, to the Number of 1822, each weighing ten Pounds at least.

7. In such Wealth and free Gifts, consisted the Sums of Money call'd by the Name of *Pecunia Manubialis*, or Booty-Money; partly taken from the Enemies by Force, and the rest given voluntarily by Friends. But we must here observe a notable Difference concerning the Possession and Right to this Treasure, betwixt the Time of the popular Commonwealth, and that of the Emperors; forasmuch as during the popular Government, this Sort of Cash was Part of the publick Stock, and as such was put into the Temple of *Saturn*, where the People's Treasure lay; so that the Senate and People of *Rome* dispos'd of it at Pleasure. Thus we see the Money brought to *Rome* by *Paulus Emilius*, of the Booty taken from *Persus*, was put into this Treasure; and the Sum was so great, that from thence forward the People ceas'd to lay any Taxes on themselves, and continu'd this Exemption till the Consulship of *Hirrius* and *Pansa*, which was about the Beginning of the first Civil War betwixt *Augustus Caesar* and *M. Antony*. But after the People had given up all their Power to *Augustus*, the Case was quite otherwise; for that great Emperor,

Emperor, having many Generals and Commanders of Armies, with which he could not be in Person; he to secure their Fidelity, and gain their Affection, after such an Usurpation, allow'd them to keep the greatest Part of the Enemies Booty, and enrich themselves effectually, the People having no longer any Title to pretend to it. Afterwards, when he thought fit, he commanded them to lay it out on some great Works, either for the publick Pleasure, or their Use, or Benefit.

8. This was the Original of so many magnificent Works perform'd in the Days of *Augustus*, both within and without *Rome*. Hence *Paulus Emilius*, not the Conqueror of *Perseus*, but he that liv'd under *Augustus*, had the Money to build his Palace, which *Statius* calls lofty and magnificent :

*Lib. 1. Silvarum in
equo Domitian.*

Illinc Belligeri sublimis Regia Pauli :

On that Side the lofty Palace of Warlike *Paulus*.

Hence his Son-in-Law *Agrippa* defray'd the Expence of repairing the Pavement of *Rome*, and several publick Structures, besides the *Pantheon*, which he built new. *Dion, lib. 49.* says, *The following Year Agrippa, being made Edile, of his own accord, repair'd all the publick Structures, and all the Highways, at his private Expence.* In short, this Liberty being continu'd under *Tiberius*, *Lepidus*, who otherwise was not rich, had by this Means a great Sum of Money, which he laid out in repairing and beautifying the Palace of *Paulus Emilius*, which belong'd to his Predecessors; in Imitation of *Taurus Philippus* and *Balbus*; who having taken great Booty from the Enemy under *Augustus*, did not put it into the publick Treasury, or the Emperor's; but by Consent of *Augustus*, employ'd it in adorning the City.

Cornelius

Cornelius Tacitus testifies this common Application of Booty-Money, under the Emperors

Augustus and *Tiberius*, where he speaks *Lib. 3. Annal. sub*
of the Repairs made by *Lepidus*, in *finem*.

these Words: *At the same Time Lepidus ask'd Leave of the Senate, that he might repair and beautify the Palace of Paulus, a Monument of the Æmilian Family, at his own Cost. The Spirit of publick Munificence was then in Fashion; and Augustus had not hindred Taurus Philippus Balbus from laying out the Booty taken from the Enemy, or overflowing Wealth, for the Glory of the City and Posterity. After which Example, Lepidus, though not rich in Cash, then beautify'd the Ornament of his Predecessors.*

9. Now, if the Value of the Booty taken from Enemies was so great; if under *Augustus* alone, there were 30 Generals admitted to the Honour of Triumphant; and if they were Persons of such Quality, whom he commanded to lay out that Sort of

Treasure on the Works of the Highways, it would certainly be a very

Sueton. in August. cap. 38.

difficulty Matter to reckon up in one

Sum what Money those great Men expended this Way, they having by so many Victories plunder'd the greatest and best Part of the Nations of the then known World, of what they had most valuable.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the second Sort of Cash of private Persons, apply'd to the Works of the Highways.

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| <p>1. <i>Money of private Persons laid out on the Highways, how to be understood.</i></p> <p>2. <i>In what Manner private Persons contributed to the paving of Towns.</i></p> <p>3. <i>The Difference betwixt the Military Highways, and the Cross-Roads in the Country.</i></p> | <p>4. <i>Two Methods of making the Cross-Roads by Personal Labour, and by Contributions.</i></p> <p>5. <i>That the Cross-Roads are of the Number of the publick Highways.</i></p> <p>6. <i>A notable Difference between the Roads newly made, and the Repairing of the old.</i></p> |
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1. **W**HEN I speak here of the Money of private Persons, I do not mean that which was rais'd by Tolls and Taxes; because that once paid into the Farmers or Receivers, becomes the publick Stock: But I speak of that which private Persons bestow'd of themselves, or which was rais'd of them, on no other Title or Account, but to be employ'd on the Works of the Highways, and that by a special Law; which was so general, that it reach'd Great and Small, Priests and Noblemen, those exempted and not exempted; the Inhabitants of Towns, and of the Country; and even the Emperor himself; who, though in all other Respects *Legibus esset solutus*, was above the Law, yet took no more Privilege than the rest, when the High-

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Highways were to be repair'd; so honourable, useful and necessary did they think this Work for the common Benefit of *Europe*.

2. And forasmuch as these Works were to be done as well in the City, as in the Country; I will begin with the Streets in *Rome*, where the Contribution for Paving was after this Manner: That the Proprietors of the Houses, and other Structures, were oblig'd at their own Cost to pave, and keep in repair every Street, every one according to the Front and Extent of his House: *Let every Man, says the Law, make good the Highways next to his own House.* And though this Law seems to have been made particularly for the City of *Rome*, yet it was practis'd in all the chief Cities of the Empire, if any of them had the Streets pav'd or gravell'd.

L. Ediles D. de via publ. & Itin. publ. reficiendo.

3. As for the Highways in the Country, before we decide at whose Cost they are to be made, we must observe two Particulars necessary for the better Understanding of this Matter. The first is, That, as we shall elsewhere show more at large, the Highways were divided into Royal and not Royal, Military and not Military, Roads. Those which were not Royal or Military, were by the *Latins* call'd, *Via Vicinales*; and by us, *By-ways*, or *Cross-ways*, because they cross the Country to some small Towns or Villages, and sometimes run from one Military Way to another. The Military Ways, which were the largest, noblest and straightest, serv'd to travel from one Province to another, or from one great City to another; and were first made at the publick Expence, bore the Name of him that made them, were set out by the Censors, Overseers of the Highways, or others commission'd to this Purpose; and adjudg'd to certain Undertakers, who took upon them that Work, engaging

gaging to finish them in due Manner at the Rate they had been adjudg'd to them, and to have them allow'd and approv'd of at their Cost. But the Crossways were made at the Expence of the Magistrates of small Towns and Villages; such as our present Mayors and Bailiffs, who were enjoin'd to pave and make them good throughout their own Bounds and Liberties, not at the publick Cost, but at the Charge of the Inhabitants of those Towns, or Villages, or of those who had Lands or Estates in them.

4. These Magistrates of Towns and Villages carried on the Works of these Ways after two Manners; that is, by Personal Labour, and Contributions: For they had Power to oblige the meaner Sort who had any Lands there, to come to work at them in Person; some to carry the Stones and Flints, the Sand and Gravel, and other necessary Materials, which they were forc'd very often to fetch a great Distance from the Work; others to burn Lime, others to lay all these Materials orderly, to beat and to consolidate them; others to cut through Mountains, to fill up Marshes, drein Hollows, and do other difficult and toilsom Works; which often caus'd heavy Complaints, and Seditions in the Provinces. The other Method was to assign Men of Estates and Quality, who had Houses and Lands there, a certain Part of the Way to do at their own Cost; their Houses and Estates being first valu'd, according to which the Distribution was made at so much in the Pound. All these different Sorts of publick Ways, and of Works and Contributions, are contain'd in a remarkable Passage of *Siculus Flaccus, lib. de Conditionibus agrorum*, which well deserves to be here inserted at length; this Author's Words are as follows: *All Ways are not of one and the same Sort: For there are publick Royal Highways, which are made good by the Publick, and bear the Names of the Makers; for they*
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have Overseers, and are made good by Undertakers. There are also Cross-ways, which turn often off from the great Roads into the Country, and often run to other Highways. These are made by the Country Towns, that is, by the Magistrates of such Towns, who use to oblige the Landlords to furnish Workmen; or else we find every Landlord has a certain Measure assign'd him in each Liberty, to be made good at his own Cost.

5. But though this Author seems to distinguish between the Publick, and the Cross-ways, by these Words; *Which turn off from the Publick into the Country, and often run to other publick Roads*: Yet all these Cross-ways are really publick Highways, and reputed such by the Civilian Paulus, who positively says, that, *The Cross-ways* Lib. 3. D. *are of the Number of the publick Ways*;

excepting those which are made of some Parts of Fields given by private Persons, the giving of which Parcels is still fresh in the Memory of Man. Nor must we think that *Siculus Flaccus* designs to cut off the By-ways from being reckoned as publick Roads, to place them among the private; but in regard that among the publick Ways, the Royal and the Military are the most noted, therefore he calls the Military, Publick Ways, giving them the Name of their Genus or Kind, for their Excellency above the others.

6. The second Point to be consider'd touching the Highways in the Country, consists in the Difference there is between the making of new Ways, and the repairing of the old; particularly in relation to the Royal, or Military Ways: For it is certain that such Ways were first made at the publick Expence, as *Siculus Flaccus* expresses in these Words, *They are made good by the Publick*: But as for the Repairing of them, it follow'd the Course of the Cross-ways, and was done either by obliging the Country-People to give

so many Days Work to it, or by Contribution. This appears by a Law the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Honorius* made for the Province of *Bithynia*, which they would have observ'd throughout all the Provinces of

*Lib. 2. C. de Immu-
nitate nemini con-
cedenda, lib. 10.*

the Empire, the Words of it are these: In *Bithynia*, and the other Provinces, the Estates shall be oblig'd to contribute to the Repairing of the publick Highway, and such other Duties, according to the Number of Acres, or of Heads known to possess them.

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C H A P. XXIII.

That no Person could plead Exemption from the Repairing of the Highways.

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| <p>1. <i>Two Sorts of Contributions, of Work or of Money; base, and honourable.</i></p> <p>2. <i>The Princes and Senators Estates exempt from base Contributions.</i></p> <p>3. <i>Contribution paid for the Highways, reckoned noble and honourable.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Ecclesiastical Persons liable to contribute to the Works of the Highways, by a Law which exempts no Man, nor even the Emperor himself.</i></p> | <p>5. <i>In the said Law there are five reasonable Points, relating to the Highways.</i></p> <p>6. <i>The Emperors and Noblemens Estates once exempt, and afterwards liable to contribute to the Highways.</i></p> <p>7. <i>The Highways neglected for a long Time, reviv'd by Charlemaign, who oblig'd the Churchmen to them.</i></p> <p>8. <i>A Decree of the Court, declaring Ecclesiastical Persons liable to the Works of the Highways.</i></p> |
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1. **N**O Commonwealth, of what Sort soever, could subsist without Revenues, nor those Revenues be rais'd, and in a Readiness, without a Contribution of Money to be made by the Subjects, and private Citizens. But as there are several Degrees among Citizens, or Subjects, and some of them in a Commonwealth have a more honourable Rank than others; so have the Contributions been different, some being look'd upon as base, sordid and mechanick, because paid by Mechanicks, and mean Persons; others were commendable, noble and honourable, because they

oblig'd noble Persons, and such as held the first Degrees of Honour; the Honour and Safety of the Commonwealth depending on them.

2. As for the sordid Contributions, the Emperors exempted from them the Houses, Lands and Possessions of Senators; as also that they call'd, *Rem privatam, vel prædia, aut Possessiones privatos*; that is, the Houses and Estates they possess'd by Inheritance before they were Emperors, or had purchas'd since, or that were fallen to them by Inheritance, Deed of Gift, or other lawful Way; and would not allow their Commissioners or Officers set over the publick Works, who were of low and base Degree, to oblige their Farmers, Labourers, or others of their Servants, to give their Labour, and contribute Money to such Works. *Constantine the Great* made a Law purposely to this

L. 1. de Privileg. domus Augustæ. C. lib. 11.

Effect, which runs thus: *It is our Will that our Possessions be exempt from all sordid Duties; and that neither Farmers, nor Peasants, be summon'd to extraordinary Duties, or any unusual Charges.*

The Possessions of Senators enjoy'd the same Exemptions and Franchises by this other Law: *We command that the Estates of Senators, and their Men, be free from all sordid, extraordinary, and baser Duties.*

L. 4. C. de Dignitatib. lib. 12.

3. But as for the Contributions towards the Repairs of the Highways, though at first Sight they seem to be vile and mechanick, because they consist in Bodily Labour, and in such Matters as have no Appearance of Worth and Dignity, as Stones, Flints, Lime, Sand, and Cement; yet these Works of the Highways have never been look'd upon as base and sordid, but as noble and honourable. In Testimony whereof, the Emperors have not disdain'd to carry on those Works, and to own and declare themselves the Authors of them by Epigrams and Inscriptions cut in Marble, or some other

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durable Substance ; and consequently, they have subjected all Sorts of Persons whatsoever, without any Exception, even their own Houses and Estates, to the Repairing and making good of the Highways, and of the Bridges belonging to them.

4. And though the first Christian Emperors, in the Fervor of the Faith they had newly receiv'd, did discharge and exempt the Goods and Persons of Churchmen from all Tributes, Taxes, Tolls, and Impositions ; yet the Repairing of the Highways was always excepted out of their Privileges, and the said Emperors made them liable to contribute only to this ; as may appear by several of their Laws, but more especially by this of the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Honorius*, whose

Words are : *Far be it from us, that we should reckon the Repairing of the Highways and Bridges, and the Paving-work, which has been honour'd with the Titles of great Princes, among the sordid Duties : Therefore no Sort of Men, of any Dignity or Degree of Honour, must desist from the making and repairing of the Ways and Bridges. We also freely oblige the Divine Houses, and venerable Churches, to this so commendable a Work. Which Law, it will be convenient should be intimated to the Judges of all Provinces, to the End they may know, that whatsoever Antiquity decreed should be allow'd to the Highways, is to be perform'd without any Exception of Dignity or Honour.*

*L. Ad Instructionem
C. de Sacrosanctis
Ecclesiis.*

*L. 4. de Privilegiis
domus Augustæ,
lib. 11. 6.*

*L. Absit. tit. 3. l. 15.
Cod. Theodos.*

5. The Reason of inserting this Law at length, is, that I find in it four or five Particulars worth observing, for the Honour and Recommendation of the Work of the Highways, which I will deliver in a few Words : The First, That the Highways were reckon'd among the noble Works, and not among the sordid or mechanick. Secondly, That it was a Work as it were dedicated to Posterity, under the Names, Titles

and Dignities of the greatest Princes in the World, viz. the Emperors. Thirdly, That it is the only Sort of Work from which no Man could plead Exemption. Fourthly, That it was not confin'd to one City or Country, but ran through all the Provinces of the Empire; else it were needless for the Law to express it should be notify'd to the Judges of all the Provinces. Lastly, That the Account made of the Works of the Highways, was not a new Thing, but deriv'd from former Ages, and descended from venerable Antiquity.

6. It must be own'd, notwithstanding what has been said, that there was a Time when the Emperors private Patrimonies, and the Estates of the Nobility and great Men of *Rome*, were exempted from Contributing to the Repairs of the Highways; but at length *Artadius* and *Honorius*, considering their Multitude, or, to use their own Words, their vast Length and Extent; for this Reason, cut off all Exemptions, subjecting the Estates of the noblest Persons, and even their own, to the Repairs of the said Highways. Their Edict runs thus: *It had been long since ordain'd, that the Estates of Persons in illustrious Dignities, should be deem'd exempted from the Repairing of the Ways: But considering the immense Extent of the Ways, it is our Will, That all Men vie in showing their forward Zeal for repairing the publick Road, without pleading any Dignity, or peculiar Privilege whatsoever in relation to this Work. And we further add, That the Houses belonging to our Clemency, which were exempted from this Burden by ancient and innumerable Privileges, be now liable to the same Charge and Condition.*

7. It is to be believ'd, that the Western Empire being fallen to Decay by the Invasion of many strange Nations, the Works of the Highways were long neglected; but *Charlemaign* having in some measure restor'd it, and again brought together several Pieces of it, after the Shipwrack, and join'd them to *Germany*, which the former Emperors could never subdue: He began

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began as soon as he got the Name and Dignity of Emperor, to bend his Thoughts upon these Works, as if it were absolutely necessary for an Empire to have pav'd Roads for the speedy marching of Armies; without which, a particular Province or Kingdom may more easily subsist. Howsoever that was, it appears by a certain capital Constitution of his, that he exempts the Possessions, Goods and Inheritances of Church-men from all Burdens, Taxes and Contributions; excepting only those design'd for the Repairs of the Highways and Bridges belonging to them. *The Possessions, says he, belonging to Religious Places, shall be subject to no Tax, but only for the Repairing of Highways and Bridges.*

8. Now though *France* be but a small, yet noble Part of that great Empire; and that the Use of Highways, as the *Romans* made, consolidated, and strengthened them, both within and without, be quite disus'd; yet the Church-men are still subject to contribute, according to the Customs of Places, to the Repairing of Roads, whether in the Nature of Causeway as we use, or by Paving. This was adjudg'd by a Decree of the 24th of *May* 1583, deliver'd by Monsieur *Robert* in Favour of the Inhabitants of the City of *Orleans*, against the Religious of *S. Victor lez Paris*.

*Lib. 2. Rerum Judi.
cap. 3.*

C H A P. XXIV.

Of the third Sort of Cash laid out by private Persons on the Works of the Highways.

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| <p>1. <i>Three several Ways private Persons bestow'd their Money bountifully.</i></p> <p>2. <i>The first by those who did any of the Work themselves alone, or jointly with others.</i></p> <p>3. <i>An Instance of private Persons, who singly, or jointly, either being in Employment, or out of it, have repair'd Highways at their own Cost.</i></p> | <p>4. <i>An Instance of a Town, or Body Politick.</i></p> <p>5. <i>The second Sort of private Cash, consisted in free Gifts made by the Living.</i></p> <p>6. <i>The third in Legacies by Will.</i></p> <p>7. <i>The Conclusion, that more Men and Money were employ'd about the Highways, than any other Work in the World.</i></p> |
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1. **S**everal Roman Citizens, and other Inhabitants of Italy, or of the Provinces, who were well affected to the Publick, thought it not enough to pay their Part of the usual Contributions, to which they were oblig'd by Law; but out of the Abundance of their Affection, bestow'd Part of their Means on the Works of the Highways meerly through Generosity. This I find was done three several Ways; for some have employ'd People to work themselves, others have freely given considerable Sums to it whilst living, and some others left Legacies to it when they dy'd.

2. Such as of their own Accord did the Publick this good Office, were either single, or several jointly, who either for the common Good and Advantage, or out of Respect to the Emperors then reigning, for whom they

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they had a particular Affection, caus'd a certain Part of a Way to be new made or repair'd at their own Cost. Some of these were Overseers or Commissioners of these Ways, others altogether private Persons, and in no publick Employment.

3. We have an Instance of those who were in the Post of Overseers of the Highways in *Apuleius Niger*; who, besides what he did at the publick Expence, new pav'd 10000 Foot in Length at his own Charge, of a Way he had the Care of by his Employment, in *Italy*, as appears by the following Inscription:

L. APULEIUS.
C. F. ANI. NIGER.
II. VIR.
CURATOR. VIARUM.
STERNENDARUM.
PEDUM. DECEM.
MILLIA. VIAM.
SUA. PECUNIA.
FECIT.

Onuphr.
Panvin.
in Urbe
Rom.

For an Instance of Several's carrying on the Work jointly in Honour of, and to please some Emperors, we have *C. Egnatius*, *M. L. Glico*, and their Associates, who call themselves *Magistros Augustales*, who in Honour of *Augustus* pay'd a Way, beginning at the *Anian* Way in the Territory of the *Falisci*, and running to a Place they call'd the Flints of *Ceres*, and call'd it *Via Augusta*, *Augustus's Way*. There is a Stone with an Inscription to this Effect, in the Church-Yard of the Cathedral of *Civita Castellana* in the Patrimony of the Church in *Italy*, which is as follows:

HONORI

Idem.
Ibid.

HONORI.

IMP. CÆSARIS. DIVI F.
AUGUSTI. PONT. MAXIM.
PATR. PATRIÆ. ET. MUNICIP.
MAGISTRI. AUGUSTALES.
C. EGNATIUS. M. L. GLYCO.
C. EGNATIUS. C. L. MUSICUS.
C. JULIUS. CÆSAR. LISOCHRYTUS.
Q. FLORINIUS. Q. L. PRINCEPS.
VIAM. AUGUSTAM. AB. VIA.
ANNIA. EXTRA. PORTAM. AD.
CERERIS. SILICES. STERNENDAM.
CURARUNT. PECUNIA. SUA.
PRO. LUDIS.

As for new Work done, or Repairs made by private Persons in the Provinces, to the Honour of some Emperors ; we will for Instance produce an inscrib'd Stone, set over the Portal of a little Church call'd *S. Julian*, in the Town of *Alcantara* in *Spain*, near a Stone-Bridge, showing its ancient Majesty by the Greatness of the Undertaking. And yet it was but one single Man, call'd *Lacer*, who for the Affection he bore the Emperor *Trajan*, did so much Work in the Roads of *Spain*, and built that stately Bridge, as appears by this Epigram cut on the Stone of the Bridge, with this Title :

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IMP. NERVÆ. TRAJANO CÆSARI. AUGUSTO GERMANICO DACICO SACRUM.

TEMPLUM IN RUPE TAGI, SUPERIS ET CÆSARE PLENUM,

ARS UBI MATERIA VINCITUR IPSA SUA,

QUIS, QUALI DEDERIT VOTO, FORTASSE REQUIRIT.

162. 1.

CURA VIATORUM QUOS NOVA FAMA JUVAT.

INGENTEM VASTA PONTEM QUOD MOLE PEREGIT

SACRA LITATURO FECIT HONORE LACER.

QUI PONTEM FECIT LACER, ET NOVA TEMPLA DICAVIT

ILLIC SE SOLV ::::: VOTA LITANT.

PONTEM PERPETUI MANSURUM IN SÆCULA MUNDI,

FECIT DIVINA NOBILIS ARTE LACER.

IDEM ROMULEIS TEMPLUM CUM CÆSARE DIVIS

CONSTITUIT FÆLIX UTRAQUE CAUSA SACRI.

C. JULIUS LACER. H. S. F. ET. DEDICAVIT
AMICO CURIO LACONE ICÆDITANO.

In the Middle of the Bridge there is a great Arch,
with this Inscription :

IMP. CÆSARI. DIVI. NERVÆ. F.

NERVÆ. TRAJANO. AUG. GERM.

162. 2.

DACICO PONTIF. MAX. TRIB.

POTEST. VIII. IMP. V. COS. V. P.P.

4. For an Instance of Towns and Bodies Politick,
which have of meer Generosity laid out their Money
on the Works of the Highways and Bridges, we have
the ancient Inhabitants of *Chaves* in *Portugal*, then call'd
Aqui-Flavienses, and a noted City, now an indifferent
Town. In this Place there is still a Bridge of magnifi-
cent Structure, built at the Cost of those Inhabitants in
Honour of *Trajan*, and over a River that washes the
Walls

Walls of that Town, and is call'd *Tamaga*; on one of the Arches whereof, this Inscription is still entire:

IMP. CÆS. NERVÆ.
 TRAJANO. AUG. GER.
 DACICO. PONTIF. MAX.
 TRIB. POT. COS. V. P. P.
 AQUILAVIENSES.
 PONTEM. LAPIDEUM.
 DE. SUO. F. C.

5. The second Sort of gratuitous Money consisted in Gifts of certain Sums, which some put into the Hands of the Overseers, or the Quæstors, who had the Charge of furnishing the Expence of working on the Highways. We have an Instance of it in an ancient Inscription, which *Rosinus* says is in the City of *Rome*; and *Græterus*, in that of *Assisium* in *Umbria*, which informs us, That a Physician, call'd *P. Decimius L. Heros Merula*, once of servile Condition, and an Oculist call'd *Clinicus*, gave great Gifts to the Publick; that is, the Physician 50000 Sesterces on one Account, which amount to about 270 Pounds *English*; and 300000 Sesterces on another Account, being about 1615 Pounds, for erecting of Statues in the Temple of *Hercules*. And the Surgeon gave to the Publick 2000 Sesterces on one hand, worth near 5 *l.* 10 *s.* as an Acknowledgment for being honour'd with the Dignity of a *Sevir*, or Commander of Horse; and 307000 Sesterces on the other hand, amounting to about 1635 Pounds, to be laid out on the Paving of the Highways, which is the true Sense of this Inscription:

P. DECIMIUS. P. L. EROS.

MERULA. MEDICUS.

CLINICUS. CHIRURGUS.

OCULARIUS. VI. VIR.

HIC PRO LIBERTATE DEDIT H—S 1000

HIC PRO SEVIRATU IN REMP.

DEDIT H—S ∞ ∞

HIC IN STATUAS PONENDAS IN

ÆDEM HERCULIS DEDIT. H—S. 乘 乘 乘

HIC IN VIAS STERNENDAS IN

PUBLICUM DEDIT. H—S. 乘 乘 乘 100 ∞ ∞

HIC. PRIDIE. QUAM MORTUUS. EST.

RELIQUIT. PATRIMONI.

H—S. ∞ 乘 乘

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Cod.
Antiquit.
Roman.

Grut.
400. 7.

6. The third Sort of Liberality bestow'd by private Persons on the Highways, was by Legacy, which several Persons did towards advancing of those great and tedious Works. We have a Testimony hereof in the Law, 30 D. de Legatis secundo; which imports, That a certain Person making his Will, had writ these Words in his Testament: *I bequeath to the Commonwealth of the Gallicans, for the Repairing of the Way, which is in their Colony, to the Aurelian Way.* By which Words [the Length of Way to be repair'd] is in some manner determin'd; but not the Sum the Testator intended to lay out upon it. Thence arose a Question, Whether the Legacy was good? To which *Celsus*, the Civilian, answer'd, That he thought that Form of bequeathing imperfect; but that the Length of the Work being determin'd by the Will, it is to be suppos'd that the Sum bequeath'd is such, and so considerable, according to the Will of the Testator, that it will suffice to make and finish the Way so limited; provided it does not appear that the Will of the Testator was otherwise, either

ther by the Greatness of the Sum, or the Smalness of the Estate left by the Deceas'd.

7. Hitherto we have deliver'd what we could find in History, both concerning those who have carry'd on the Works of the Highways, and the Sums of Money bestow'd on them. If I have not set down the exact Number of Men, or Quantity of Money, it is because they both exceed the nicest Arithmetical Calculation, or even what Man is capable of conceiving or understanding, unless confusely and in the Gross. We have heard of the Number of Men that built the Temple of *Solomon*, and the Pyramids of *Egypt*, and what Money they cost building; but it is impossible to do the like as to the Works of the Highways, forasmuch as the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of the then known World did actually labour at them with their Hands for above 400 Years in the Provinces, and above 600 Years in *Italy*. And as for those who did not work in Person, they contributed towards it with their Purfes, without any Exception from the highest to the lowest; the Work of the Highways being the only one in the World which can boast, that all Persons contributed to it either by their Labour or Purfes.

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C H A P. XXV.

Of the Affection of the Senate and People of Rome, towards the first Makers of Highways, and the Honours publicly decreed them.

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| <p>1. <i>The Story of C. Gracchus relating to the Highways.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Three Sorts of Honour done to those that have promoted the Works of the Highways. The first Sort.</i></p> <p>3. <i>The second Sort in triumphal Arches. Two erected to Augustus.</i></p> | <p>4. <i>An Arch erected in Honour of Vespasian in Rome.</i></p> <p>5. <i>Three Arches erected to Trajan.</i></p> <p>6. <i>The third Sort of Honour consisting in Medals.</i></p> <p>7. <i>Medals in Honour of Augustus.</i></p> <p>8. <i>An excellent Medal in Honour of Trajan.</i></p> |
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1. **T**HE Benefit and Advantage the Publick reap'd by the Paving of the Highways was so great, and the Harms it daily prevented so many, and both the Senate and People of Rome were so sensible of them, that there was no Sort of Work, to the Performers whereof they show'd a truer Affection, or to whom they decreed more honourable and lasting Rewards. C. Gracchus by this Means got into such Favour and Reputation, that he obtain'd whatsoever he desir'd of his Fellow-Citizens : And the People one Day extolling him to the highest Degree, on account of several Ways he had made about the Country, and the new Inventions he had found out to beautify and make them useful to all Persons ; he had the Boldness, in one of

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his Orations, to say, He had but one Favour to ask, which if the People pleas'd to grant him, he should think himself fully satisfy'd; and if it was deny'd him, he would not complain. It was believ'd he would have ask'd the Consulship for himself; but when the Day of the Election came, he ask'd it for *Fabius*; who upon his Recommendation, was immediately chosen Consul. As for himself, he was made Tribune of the People, though he never stood for, or ask'd it.

2. The Honours decreed to Magistrates during the popular Commonwealth, and afterwards to Emperors, were of three Sorts, which render a Man's Name immortal, as far as humane Industry can prevail. The first was, giving the Highways their Makers Name; and those Names for the most Part have continu'd as well in *Italy* as the Provinces, as the *Appian*, the *Flaminian*, the *Emilian* Way; whence *Siculus Flaccus* had Reason to say, *The publick Royal Ways have the Names of their Makers.*

3. The second Sort of Acknowledgment consisted in Triumphal Arches, which the Senate and People of *Rome*, by publick Decrees and Resolutions, caus'd to be erected in Honour of Emperors, who had made or repair'd Highways; or built Bridges, or Ports, which are necessary and inseparable Parts of them. Thus *Dion* tells us, That as an Acknowledgment for the Repairs made by *Augustus Cæsar* on the *Flaminian* Way, from *Rome* to *Rimini*, two Triumphal Arches were erected to him at the two Ends of his Work; the one in *Rome* on the Bridge over the *Tyber*, and the other at *Rimini*, on which Statues were plac'd, representing the Emperor to the Life.

4. In the following Ages the Senate and People of *Rome* continu'd the like Honours to *Augustus's* Successors, who made new Ways, or repair'd the old, erecting Triumphal Arches to them, either within *Rome*, or without, on the principal Parts of their Work. Within
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Rome, as to *Vespasian*, to whom the Senate erected a Triumphal Arch with this Inscription still to be seen there :

IMP. CÆSARI
VESPASIANO AUG.
PONT. MAX. TR. POT. III.
IMP. IIX. P. P. COS. IHI. DES. IHI.
S. C.
QUOD VIAS URBIS NEGLIGENTIA
SUPERIORUM TEMPORUM
CORRUPTAS IMPENSA SUA
RESTITUERIT.

Grut.

240.2

I purposely pass by that of *Domitian*, to speak of it elsewhere more to the Purpose.

5. After *Trajan*, he having done more Work than any other Emperor after *Augustus*, was accordingly honour'd in this Manner both within and without Rome ; for we find in *Sextus Rufus*, that he had a Triumphal Arch, in *prima Regione Urbis*, in the first Ward of the City ; and we have it from others, that he had two more in the principal Parts of *Italy*, where he had wrought. The first is at *Benevento*, as we have observ'd above, whence he had pav'd a great Road to *Brindes*. The Inscription still to be seen on this Arch, testifies it is an Acknowledgment of the Senate and People of *Rome*. The Words are these :

IMP. CÆSARI DIVI NERVÆ FILIO.
NERVÆ TRAJANO OPTIMO AUG.
GERMANICO. PONT. MAX. TRIBUNIC.
POTEST. XVIII. IMP. VII. COS. VII. P. P.
FORTISSIMO PRINCIPI. S. P. Q. R.

Smet.
fol. 11.
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The second is in *Marca di Ancona*, almost entire, near one of the City Gates, and erected to him by Order of the Senate and People, for having repair'd the Port of that City, and by that Means rendred the Navigation of the *Adriatick* safer, against the usual Dangers of the Sea. This Arch is for its Structure, one of the wonderfulest that ever was seen; for though at present it wants its principal Ornaments, such as the Triumphal Chariots, the Marble and Brass Statues, and the Trophies formerly affix'd to it; yet still it ravishes the Eyes and Thoughts of the Beholders, as a *Venus* would do strip'd of her best Garments. The Matter and Form are exquisite, and appear to the Eye with an exact Beauty and Symmetry of all their Parts. The main Body is of white Marble, curiously polish'd; and the Stones so neatly join'd, that the Point of a Knife cannot be thrust in between the Joints, so that one would think the whole Work had been made of one only Piece of *Parian* Marble. The Stones are so large and so thick, that a very few Ranges raise the Work to a great Height, and represent either in Front or Side-ways a graceful Elevation, and a perfect Scenography or Union. But that which shows the Art and Boldness of the Undertaker, is, That the Parts, and as it were exterior Members of the Arch, as the Pedestals, Bases, Columns, Capitals, Architraves, Frises and Cornishes, with the Mouldings, Out-jutting and Projectures proper for embellishing of each, are not affix'd or join'd to them; but are a Part of the vast Marble Stones the Body of the Work is compos'd of, having been cut out and carv'd on the Massive Stones; so that being inseparable from the Body, they continue entire to this Day, for the most Part, as does also the Inscription the Senate and People of *Rome* caus'd to be cut on a Marble Table, there to be still seen, as I give it you here:

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IMP. CÆSAR. DIVI. NERVÆ. F. NERVÆ.
 TRAJANO. OPTIMO. AUG. GERMANIC. Idem, fol. 11. n. 3.
 DACICO. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. XVIII. IMP. VIII.
 COS. VI. P. P. PROVIDENTISSIMO PRINCIPI.
 SENATUS. P. Q. R. QUOD. ACCESSUM. ITALIÆ.
 HOC ETIAM ADDITO, EX PECUNIA SUA.
 PORTU. TUTIOREM. NAVIGANTIBUS. REDDIDERIT.

6. The third Sort of Honour the *Romans* did the Emperors, who were particularly well affected to the Works of the Highways, consists in Medals, which they caus'd to be struck as an Acknowledgment of so great a Benefit. If the Medals were made by Decree of the Senate alone, they generally put on them these two Letters, *S. C.* signifying *Senatus Consulto*, by Order or Decree of the Senate; but if the People any way join'd with the Senate, either in the Matter or Form of the Medals, then these four Letters were put upon the Reverse, *S. P. Q. R.* to signify the Medal came both from Senate and People. In this Particular of Medals, *Augustus* and *Trajan* are more remarkable than all the rest, as having outdone all other Emperors in Industry and Application to this Sort of Work, as appears by what has been said above; and consequently, I have not met with any Medals made on account of the Highways in Honour of any but these two.

7. *Augustus* was the first I know of that had this Honour done him, for among the Consular Medals I find none; and am apt to believe it was one of the new Honours every one study'd to outdo another in Inventing, to gratify this Prince, after he became sole Lord of the Empire. Thus, as two Triumphal Arches were erected to him in Acknowledgment of the Works by him done at his own Cost; so were there two Sorts

of Medals made, representing the Arches to the Life on the Reverse. The one has a Triumphal Arch compos'd of two Arches, and standing on a Bridge, which is that of Tyber, on which *Dion* testifies one of the Arches stood; over the said Arches appears a Chariot drawn by four Horses abreast. Some say, they have seen Medals on which the Chariot was drawn by two Elephants. The other Reverse represents an Arch, as it were divided into two Parts by the *Flaminian Way* running between them. On each Arch is the Figure of a Man on Horseback, with Trophies on both Sides: And that all Persons may know the Senate caus'd them to be made to gratify him for the Ways he pav'd himself, and others by his Command, this Motto is put upon both the Reverses; *Quod via munitæ sunt*; because the Ways are made good. *Sebastian Erizzo*, an Italian,

In his Treatise of Medals, at the Reverses 25 and 28 of the Medals of Augustus.

See Dion, lib. 53.

well vers'd in these Curiosities, says these two Medals were coin'd at the Time and for the same End here set done, and speaks thus of them both: *This Medal was stamp'd at Rome, at the same Time as the aforesaid, in Honour of Augustus, as a Memorial of the Highways then pav'd and made good. And Antonius Augustinus*, Arch-bishop of *Tarragona*, who has writ on the same Subject, says; *Therefore the Statues of Augustus were plac'd on Arches upon the Bridge of Tyber, and at Ariminum, as these Coins testify. Andreas Scottus*, who

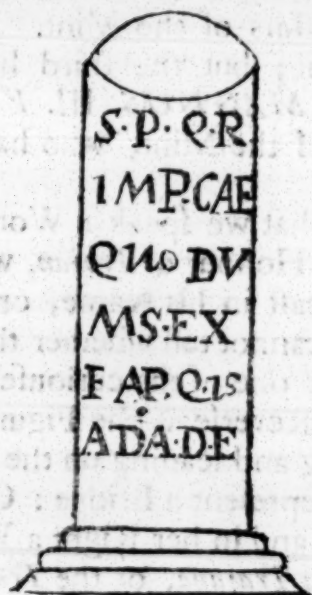
In Dialogis Antiquitatum Romanarum, et Hispanicarum ex nummis veterum.

has added his Medals to this Author's Dialogues, gives us three other Medals, bearing the Face of *Augustus*, and under it *Augustus*; but the Reverses are alike in some Part, and in Part differ; for this they have in common, that they all three represent a Pil-

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Which Letters signify, *Senatus Populusque Romanus, Imperatori Caesari, Quod via Munitae sunt ex ea Pecunia, quae jussu Senatus ad Ararium delata est* ; that is, The Senate and People of Rome to the Emperor Caesar, because the Ways were made good with that Money, which was carry'd to the Exchequer by Order of the Senate. By this all Men may perceive, that *Augustus Caesar* was the principal Maker of pav'd Roads in his Days ; since those Triumphal Arches, those Pillars, and those Medals, were made in Honour of him ; that Money taken out of the publick Treasury, was expended on the Works of the Highways ; and that, even then, *Italy* and the Provinces were furnish'd with pav'd Roads, as may be gather'd from those indefinite Words, *Quod via munitae sunt*, because the Ways are made good. And as for the Difference

betwixt the Reverſes, it conſiſts in this, that one of them has theſe Words about it, *L. VINCIUS L. F. III. VIR*; that is, *Lucius Vinicius* the Son of *Lucius*, one of the three Maſters of the Mint. The ſecond has nothing round it; but the third has theſe Words, *CN. CINNA. MAGNUS. III. VIR.* which is of another Maſter of the Mint, who had the making of the Medals.

8. It remains that we ſpeak a Word of the Medal we find made in Honour of *Trajan*, which is the only one I have ſeen caſt in his Name, on account of the Highways, and cannot tell whether there may be any more; but this is one of the curiouſeſt, and beſt engrav'd. On its Reverſe is the Figure of a Woman half naked, ſitting and leaning on the End of an Arch, which ſeems to represent a Bridge: On her left Hand ſhe holds a Reed, and in her Right a Wheel with theſe Words on it; *Via Trajana*, or the *Trajan Way*. This Figure, as is generally believ'd, represents ſome one of the Ways *Trajan* cauſ'd to be pav'd. Some ſay, it is that he made in *Spain*, from *Aſturias* to *Zaragoza*, of which *Antoninus's* Itinerary under this Title, *Ab Aſturica per Cantabriam Caſarauguſtam*; which Way ſome ancient Stones call *Viam Trajanam*, *Trajan's Way*. Some think it is that he pav'd from *Benevento* to *Brindiz*; but others are of Opinion, that this Woman thus leaning, represents the Way he made acroſs the Marſh *Pontia*, whereof we have ſpoken above as of a wonderful Undertaking; in Token whereof ſhe holds a Reed, which is well known to grow naturally on the Brinks of Marſhes. But if it be lawful to gueſs in ſo doubtful a Caſe, I ſhould fancy that Figure of a Woman represents the Marſh, or Lake *Pontia* it ſelf, which the *Latins* call *Pomptina Palus*; She leans againſt the Edge of the Bridge, to ſhow ſhe owns her ſelf overcome by *Trajan's* Greatneſs of Spirit; who contrary

trary to all natural Hope and Prospect, could fill it up with Earth, and build Bridges in the worst Parts of it, to make it endure carrying any Thing over; which is signify'd by the Wheel she holds in her right Hand. And as for the Reed she has in the other, it rather betokens a Lake, or Morais, than a Way; which being drein'd and pav'd, produce no such Thing. However, I leave every one at his Liberty to believe as he pleases. I shall only add this, that *Trajan* having caus'd a Bridge to be built over the *Danube*, to terminate one of the Military Ways he carry'd on into *Pannonia*, of which Bridge we shall treat hereafter, as of one of the greatest Works in the World; a Medal was made in Honour of him, on the Reverse whereof that Bridge was represented; which I thought fit to hint at by the by, since Bridges are a Part of the Highways.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of the fabulous Story of Brunehault's Causways
in the Belgick Gaul,

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| <p>1. Two fabulous Opinions concerning the Highways in the Belgick Gaul, call'd Brunehault's Highways.</p> <p>2. Whence the said great Roads had the Name of Iron Ways.</p> <p>3. Poets Flatterers of Princes.</p> <p>4. Nicolas Reucleri's Heroick Poem.</p> <p>5. Other fabulous Authors, and their Fictions concerning the History of Hainault.</p> | <p>6. Jacques de Guise's Opinion concerning the first Makers of Brunehault's Causways.</p> <p>7. The Opinion of the People of Hainault, concerning those Causways.</p> <p>8. A Marble Pillar and Table in the Market place of Bavais, to which they say Brunehault's seven Causways all tend.</p> <p>9. Names of the Town of Bavais, and supposed Siege of it.</p> <p>10. Those Fables refuted, and the Truth asserted.</p> |
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1. IF any Province of the ancient Roman Empire can still show the Highways, made by that Nation, entire, it is chiefly the *Belgick Gaul*, where the said Ways are well known to all Men by the Name of *Brunehault's Causways*, or *Iron Ways*; concerning the which many Stories have been invented at Pleasure, both in Writing, and by Word of Mouth, but not well agreeing among themselves; and much less with the Truth of History. Those who have writ of them pretend, the Maker of those

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Ways was an ancient King of the *Belgæ*, call'd *Brune-*
baldus; and those who talk by Hearſay, hold it as
an authentick Tradition, that they were made by
Queen *Brunebault*, Wife to *Sigebert* King of *Austra-*
ſia.

2. The common People of the Country call them
by another Name, *Iron-Ways*; either from the Hard-
neſs and Solidity of the Work, which after 15 or
1600 Years, ſtill holds good againſt the Cart-
wheels; or from the Colour of the ſmall Flints,
broken or whole, which compoſe the Surface of the
ſaid Ways; and are for the moſt Part of a blackiſh
Colour, like that of Iron; as in *Spain* they call the
Road to *Salamanca*, the *Silver-Way*, becauſe cover'd
and made up of whitish Flints. I queſtion not but
there are ſtill ſome ſuch Remains in ſeveral Provin-
ces of the Empire, in *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africk*; and
that the People of each Country may, through Igno-
rance, invent Makers of them, and give ſuch Works
Names according to Fancy; but laying aſide what
is in other Parts, I will reſt ſatisfy'd with ſpeaking of
thoſe of the *Belgick Gaul*, and then of thoſe in *Great*
Britain, which is parted from it but by a narrow
Sea; and the rather, becauſe the *English*, as well as
the *Flemmings*, have taken Care to invent notable Fa-
bles concerning the Makers of their Ways.

3. We will begin with the Fables made on the
Highways in the *Belgick Gaul*; but before we enter
upon that Diſcourſe, it is to be obſerv'd, that there
have been certain Poets, at ſeveral Times, who to
gain the Favour of the Kings and Princes of their Ages
and Countries, and to pleaſe them in their Way, have
publiſh'd many Fictions to their Honour; have con-
triv'd them Genealogies deduc'd from the Gods, or
Heroes of Pagan Times, and principally from *Troy*;
and to give them ſome Reputation, have drawn their
Conjectures from ſome Reſemblance of Words, found
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in the old *Grecian* Poetry, or from the proper Names of Towns and Rivers which are in the Country, where those Princes, in Honour of whom they writ, had the Rule and Authority.

4. Of this Number was *Nicolaus Reucleri*, a Poet in *Hainault* within these 400 Years; who to please the Earls of *Hainault* in his Days, to magnify their Nobility, and make them of a very ancient Extraction, will have them to be descended from a *Trojan* Prince, call'd *Baro*, Uncle to *Priam*; and to this Purpose, has compos'd a Poem in Heroick Verse, but almost all Leonine, or Rhiming; and yet to make up his Rhime, has strein'd and fill'd them up with Words, drawn in as it were by Head and Shoulders. This Poet feigns, that *Baro* was a great Soothsayer, who foresaw the Destruction of *Troy*, whereof he gave timely Notice to his Nephew *Priam*, but was not believ'd by him: That after the Burning of *Troy*, he put to Sea, as many more *Trojan* Princes did, with some Forces that had escap'd the Slaughter in the City; and having sail'd the whole Length of the *Mediterranean*, pass'd the Streights of *Gibraltar*, coasted along *Spain* and *France*, and came to the *Flanders* Shore. That going up into the Continent, he built a Town in a Place show'd him by Heaven, which of his own Name he call'd *Barvas*, as it is now nam'd in *Hainault*. That in the Midst of his City he built a Temple of Seven Sides, in Honour of the Seven Planets: That in the Midst of his Temple, he erected an Heptagonal Column, or of Seven Sides, and from that, as the common Center, he drew out, and began Seven great Roads in strait Lines; which going out of the Temple, ran through the Seven great Streets and Gates of the City, and thence extended to the Ends of the World. I have here inserted a few of his Verses to this Effect, to shew the Manner of them:

Rex

*Rex fuit immensus quondam, qui nemine Dictus
Bavo: De genere insignis Priami fuit ille.
Trojæ post miseros luctus, ignesque secundos
Per Maria a sociis Asiæ transvectus ab oris,
Venit in extremis, ubi Sol se condit in undis.*

Which signifies; There was once a mighty King, *Bavo* by Name, of the Race of famous *Priam*. After the miserable Fate, and second Burning of *Troy*, he was carry'd away by his Companions from the Shores of *Asia* by Sea, and came to the remotest Parts where the Sun sets in the Water. And in another Place, speaking of the Seven great Roads made by him, he says:

*Rex septem Calles immensos, regna petentes
Fussit, & in gyrum per totum pergere Mundum.*

That is, The King caus'd to be made Seven vast Roads to several Kingdoms, and to be carry'd on quite round the World.

5. Soon after *Reucleri*, came some old Writers, calling themselves Historians, who have propagated the Belief of this Story; such are *Clarembault*, *Hugo* of *Toul*, and *Lucius* of *Tongres*: The last of whom forging a Genealogy for *Bavo*, says, his fifth Successor, as King of the *Belgæ*, was *Brunebaldus*, or *Brunebault*, who liv'd in the Days of *Solomon*; and that it was he, and not *Bavo*, his thrice Great Grandfather, who made the Seven Roads of *Barvais*, and that thence they had the Name of *Brunebault's* Causeways; adding, that he pav'd four of them with Tiles and square Bricks; that is, the Roads of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, the *Sun* and *Venus*, and the three others with Marble, or Flags of black Stone, which are those of *Saturn*, *Mercury*, and the *Moon*.

6. *Jacques*

6. *Jacques de Guise*, a Franciscan Frier of *Valenciennes*, who liv'd under *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and Lord of the *Low Countries*, looking upon the Works of *Reucleri*, and *Lucius of Tongres*, as true Histories; takes Pains to reconcile those two Authors; and says, It is true that *Bavo*, the Founder of *Bavais*, began those great Causeways; but that *Brunebault*, the fifth King of the *Belgians*, finish'd them, and from him they were call'd *Brunebault's Causeways*, throughout the *Belgick Gaul*.

7. And it is Matter of Fact, That in the Country of *Hainault*, and the adjacent Provinces, it is a common receiv'd Opinion, that *Brunebault* was a Magician, and Familiar with the Devils; and that being often at a Nonplus in leading his Armies, because of the miry Places, which in those Days cover'd a great Part of the *Belgick Gaul*, he obtain'd these great and large Causeways, which are said to have been made and finish'd by his Devil in three Days.

In his Description of the Low-Countries.

Guichardin writes the same Thing concerning a great Road, which he says runs from *Tongres* to *Paris*.

8. Now to give some Countenance to this Fable, *Charles Bouel*, born at *Amiens*, who saw the Town of *Bavais*, and enquir'd after the Truth as much as he could on the Spot; tells us, That in the Middle of the Market-place at *Bavais*, there is still a Stone Pillar, standing like the *Milliarium Aureum*, set up by the Emperor *Augustus* in the Market-place at *Rome*; and on this Pillar a Marble-Table, under which the Inhabitants of the Place say those great Roads meet, and have their first Rise from thence, from whence they stretch out like Ramparts, or high Banks of Earth drawn by straight Lines to all Parts of *France*. Thus this Author delivers

Lib. de Hallucinatione Gallicorum nominum, cap. 23.

what he learnt upon the Spot: The common Sort of that Country report, that one *Brunehaldus*, vulgarly *Brunebault*,

intervein'd there after Bavo, and was by Art a Magician, and Friend to the Devil, like Julian; who having been often encumbred by the Difficulties of the Marshy Ways, obtain'd of his familiar Daemon, that what he observ'd could scarce be compass'd by humane Art, should be perform'd by the Devil's sudden and speedy Help, viz. that great and publick Ways should be pav'd from his Royal Residence throughout all France: And lest Fables, if this be one, should want Authority, there is still in being to this Day, in the Midst of the Market-place of the Town those People call Bavais, a Stone Pillar, and on the Pillar a Marble-Table, under which the Inhabitants say the Heads of all these Ways are laid; which run thence in a strait Line, and rais'd high through all Parts of France.

9. This is all I could learn concerning the Original of these ancient Fables; whereto I will add, that the Town of Bavais in Hainault is the same that Antoninus's Itinerary calls Bagacum, and Ptolomy, Bagamon, according to the Opinion of Petrus Divaeus, Surita, and others. It is true, Petrus Appianus says it is the City of Tournay; but it is not likely, for in the same Itinerary we find the Name of Turnacum, which is doubtless the City of Tournay. And the said Itinerary makes 24 Miles Distance between these two Towns, and names a Place call'd the Bridge of the Scheldt, in that Distance. Those who, in our Days, have writ of this Place, all agree, that there are still in it great Remains of Antiquity, and Ruins of most stately Structures; which may perhaps have given Occasion to the Authors we have mention'd, to invent the Fables of Bavo, and his imaginary Successors; as also the Tales they have fram'd of a chimerical Siege, laid to this Town by Julius Caesar, which was by him taken by Force, and utterly destroy'd, after lying before it six Months; where they make him to lose more Men, than e're he lost in the Conquest of all Gaul; and therefore they pretend, that

Julius

Julius Caesar would not make any mention of it in his Commentaries, to avoid giving an Account himself of the Losses, and Disgrace he sustain'd there.

10. But to leave these Fables, and come to the Truth of History; *Julius Caesar* had no Occasion to speak of *Bavais*, which had no Being in his Time; no more than the beautiful and great Cities there are now in the *Low Countries*, which were built long after, together with the Highways. And in Reality, in eight Years Wars *Julius Caesar* had in the *Belgick Gaul*, he does not take Notice of any one Town in the *Low Countries*; nor were there any then but Villages, compos'd of Houses standing at a Distance from one another, which he commonly calls *Vicos*; and we do not find that he laid Siege to any Place in all the Country, but that of the *Aduarici*, who had fortify'd themselves, not in a Town, but in a Forest, secur'd by a very high Mountain, and of difficult Access. *Lapsius* speaking of the Works both of the Town and Causeway of *Bavais*, and ridiculing all the Tales made in the Country of the Kings *Bavo* and *Brunebault*, ascribes all those Works to the *Romans*, who perform'd them by the Hands of the Legionary Soldiers, and the People of every Province, and exclaims in these Words: O ignorant and incredulous People, of the Roman Works; who perform'd such as these beyond Credibility by the Hands of the Soldiers, and with the Help of the People of the Provinces.

CHAP.

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C H A P. XXVII.

Another Opinion concerning the Causeways
of Brunebault.

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| 1. The first Reason, why the Ways of the Belgick Gaul are attributed to Brunebault Queen of Austrasia. | for the second Reason. |
| 2. The Testimony of Sigebert, and of Guaguin | 3. The Testimony of the Chronicle of S. Bertin in the Low-Countries. |
| | 4. That Testimony refused, and interpreted. |

1. THE most common Vogue concerning the Highways of the Belgick Gaul, is, that they were made by Brunebault, Daughter to Athanagildus King of Spain, and Wife to Sigebert King of Austrasia; and this vulgar Opinion may have proceeded from two Causes: The first is, That Nicolas Reucleri, Lucius of Tongres, and Jacques de Guise, are Authors but little known, of a rude Stile, and full of Fables; and therefore few are acquainted with Bavó's Genealogy, consisting of Abundance of imaginary Kings: But on the contrary, the History of France, writ by S. Gregory of Tours, Amion the Monk, and other common Authors, have rendred Queen Brunebault very famous; not for her Virtues, but for her notable Perfidiousness, Wickedness, and Cruelty to the Blood-Royal of France: Whence those who have heard the Highways of Brunebault nam'd, were more apt to turn their Thoughts, and ascribe them to this Woman, with whom they were acquainted by the History of France, than to a fabulous King, of whom they had never heard, being misled by the Resemblance of the Names.

2. The other Reason is, That History positively tells us this Woman took great Pleasure in building, and founded several stately and magnificent Churches and Monasteries; and among them, three Monasteries of the Invocation of *S. Vincent*; one at *Lions*, another at *Authun*, and the third at *Laon*; without reckoning many more of her Institution, under the Name of *S. Martin*, for whom she had singular Devotion. *Sigebert* testifies as much, when, speaking of *Brunebault*, he says; *Who tho' wicked, yet honour'd God's Churches; founded many Monasteries of Saints, and erected Structures of wonderful Workmanship.* *Guaguin* having mentioned some Edifices and Monasteries of hers, built in several Parts of her Lands; and wondering how a Woman, who was Queen but of a fourth Part of *France*, could compass so many beautiful and stately Structures, adds these Words; *So that, if you compare the Cost with the Fortune of Brunebault, you must needs admire a Woman could build so many Churches in one Age, and endow them.* The Fame of these Structures spread in her Days into *Italy*, and mov'd *S. Gregory the Great* to write some Letters to her; which are still found among his Epistles, where he highly commends that Princess's Devotion.

3. From this common Fame of *Brunebault's* Structures, some Persons in following Ages might easily conclude, that these Causeways bearing her Name, were of her making; but I have never seen any Thing to this Effect in Writing, except only in the Chronicle of the great and rich Abbey of *S. Bertin* in the *Low-Countries*, which is not yet printed; but I have a Copy of it, the Gift of the late *Richard White*, an *Englishman*, of a good Family, and of greater Piety and Learning, Doctor and Publick Professor of the Civil Law at *Doway*, who has writ the general History of *England* in *Latin*. The Author of this Chronicle having deliver'd the tragical End of *Brunebault*, and borrow'd some Words

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Words of *Sigebert*, adds, that among other wonderful Works, she made the great Road from *Cambray* to *Arras*, and thence to *Terouenne*, and so on to the Sea, and that from her that Way is still call'd *Brunebault's Causway*. These are the Words of the Chronicle: *This was the End of Brunebault, who though wicked and dangerous, yet honour'd the Churches: She founded the Church of S. Vincent at Laon, and made many wonderful Works; among which the par'd Highway from Cambray to Arras, thence to Terouenne, and as far as the Sea to Waldan, which is call'd Brunebault's Causway to this Day.*

4. I know not on what Author the Composer of this Chronicle could ground his Assertion, since *S. Gregory of Tours*, who liv'd in the Days of *Brunebault*, *Aimon* the Monk, *Sigebert*, nor any other of the French Historians, do not attribute these Works to her, tho' they did not forget to observe that she lov'd building. However it is, the Chronicle of *S. Bertin* assigns her but a small Part of those great Roads; and then it would follow, that the Name of *Brunebault's Causway*, given to that Part, did, through Mistake, extend over all the rest, being advanc'd by the general receiv'd Notion of her great and wonderful Undertakings.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Of the true Authors of the Highways in Gaul.

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| 1. Augustus the Maker of the Highways atwart the Alps.
2. A brief Account of the Alps, and of the People dwelling on them in the Days of Augustus.
3. The People of the Alps some of the last subdu'd. | 4. What Means Augustus us'd to subdue them.
5. Two Ways made by Augustus from the Alps to Lions.
6. Universal Peace by Augustus: Trophies rais'd on the Top of the Alps to his Honour. |
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1. **A**FTER the fabulous Accounts of the Highways in the Belgick Gaul, we must come to the true, and prove by History who were the Authors of the Military Ways, not only in the Belgick Gaul, but in the rest of France, which is the greatest and noblest Part of the Gauls; for these Ways do not run only through the Provinces of Gaul, which are subject to the Crown of France, but also cross those of the neighbouring Princes, as well in the Belgick, as Narbonnoise Gaul. I will not repeat what I said Chap. 9. of this Book. before of the Domitian Way, which was the first made on this Side the Alps, and by Domitius Ahenobarbus, in the Year of Rome 629; but will come to those which Augustus Cæsar caus'd partly to be hew'd thro' the solid Rocks of the Alps, and partly to be made and consolidated in other Places, with unexpressible Labour and Cost; and with the necessary Assistance of several Legions that wrought there themselves, or else gave the Workmen, appointed for it, the Opportunity of working, whilst

whilst they oppos'd the Attempts of the Mountain People, who would have obstructed them by Force of Arms; as well knowing, that the Finishing and Compleating of those Roads, was the Beginning of their Ruin and Destruction.

2. For we must understand, that the *Alps*, which part *France* and *Italy*, take up a large Country in the Shape of a Half-Moon, the Convex part whereof is next to *France*, and the Concave next to *Italy*: On these Mountains, in the Days of *Augustus*, there were several Nations, not yet subdu'd; who living by Robbing, were very troublesome to Travellers, and had the Boldness to attack the *Roman* Armies, as they pass'd and repass'd betwixt *Italy* and *Gaul*; so that they oblig'd *Decimus Brutus*, flying from *Modena*, to pay them a *Drachma* a Head to allow him to pass freely. And *Missala*, a *Roman* General, being encamp'd near that Place during the Winter, was forc'd to give them Money for Leave to go cut Wood for Fuel, or to make Sticks for the Javelins. What is more, they one Day plunder'd *Augustus's* Baggage and his Money, taking the Advantage of the Difficulty of the Ways, to pester the Soldiers and others; to such a Degree, that they compell'd those who wrought in the Mines for the *Romans*, to buy the Water for washing the Ore, with ready Money.

3. It is wonderful that the *Romans* had already subdu'd the remotest Countries of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*; and that 40 or 50 inconsiderable Nations, inhabiting those Mountains, and who, we may say, were at the Gates of *Rome*, should presume to disturb and attack so powerful a People. It looks as if those People, who only rely'd on their inaccessible Rocks, had been reserv'd for the last *Roman* Conquest, and not to be reduc'd and subdu'd but by *Augustus*, when he was in the Height of his Prosperity; and being at Peace with all the World, he had only those Roads to en-

counter, as it were so many Nests, to dislodge those Birds of Prey.

4. And in regard it was the Difficulty of the Ways which most obstructed the Hopes of compassing this Design, for some of them were so narrow, with such deep Precipices, that they caus'd a Dizziness to Men and Horses which were not us'd to them. This put *Augustus* to set his Men at work to hew through these Rocks, as *Hannibal* had done before; and to make broad and easy Ways across, to take those People, like wild Beasts, in their Fastnesses. This was no small Undertaking, nor fit for any indifferent Prince; but rather the Work of Giants, where Violence was to be offer'd to Nature, breaking through those vast Rocks, which cut off the strait Way; and sometimes winding about, when they met with some Stone too great, or some Precipice too deep. *Strabo*, in his Description of *Gaul*, testifies as much; where, among other

Things, he says; For *Augustus* Lib. 4. *Geograph.* *Cæsar*, to cut off the Designs of Robbers, made a great Amendment in the Ways, as far as it was possible: For there was no overcoming of Nature in all Places, by reason of the vast Precipices of the immense Rocks, which in some Places hung over the Ways, and in others sunk quite away. Thus was it requisite to make War upon Stones, before he could come at the Men; no better Way appearing for subduing of those rebellious Nations, than by opening of those Ways. Whence, besides the Victory obtain'd over all those, till then, unconquer'd People, this Advantage, among others ensu'd, that as before there were but very few, and those very difficult Ways of going up and down athwart those Rocks; after *Augustus's* Days there were several noble Roads made by his Industry, which any Body might pass without Difficulty, and in all Safety. The same Author, speaking of those Mountains, says: But in this Age, they are ei-
ther

ther destroy'd, or quite tam'd; so that whereas before there were few, and those difficult, Passages over their Mountains, now Men may pass several Ways, both in Safety and with Ease, by reason of the good Disposition of them. Thus we see it was by the Help of those Ways, that *Augustus Caesar* ferretted those numerous People out of their Dens. Among the rest were the *Salassians*, which are now those of the Valley of *Aoust*; whose large and spacious Country, above all the rest, consisted in a deep Valley fit for Tillage, encompass'd with great Rocks, which defended it on all Sides. These Rocks were cut through, and from thence the same *Augustus* made a great Road divided into two Parts, along the Descent of the Mountains towards *France*; and these came to meet again at *Lions*, one of them being wide enough for Carts, but that is the longest of the two. The other is straiter, and therefore shorter; but so narrow, that a Beast of Burden can scarce go along it. The widest runs along the *Tarantaise*, which People were call'd *Centrones*, and the narrowest over the *Appenine* Mountains, which are a Part of the *Alps*; as appears by these Words of the aforesaid Author: *But when you are got up out of Italy, the Way to the outward Gaul, is through the Salassians; it leads to Lions: And this is twofold; the one longer, fit for a Cart to go, through the Country of the Centrones; the other strait and narrow, and shorter over the Appenine.* The Victory obtain'd over so many several Nations by the Help of these Roads, was as it were the last of the Emperor *Augustus's* Labours, at which he was in Person, and by which he gave the World an universal Peace, in Token whereof he soon after shut up the Temple of *Janus*. As an Acknowledgment for so great and general a Good, the Senate and People of *Rome* erected a magnificent Triumphal Arch in Honour of him, on the highest Part of the *Alps*, between the great and

little Mountain, now call'd *S. Bernard*. I have thought
 fit to insert the Inscription on it
 here, as *Pliny* gives it us, to show the
 Greatness of the Undertaking :

Lib. 3. Nat. Hist.
cap. 20.

IMPERATORI. CÆSARI. DIVI. FIL.
 AUG. PONTIFICI. MAXIMO. IMP. XIII. TRIBUNICIÆ.
 POTESTATIS. XVIII. S. P. Q. R. QUOD. EJUS. DUCTU. AUSPICIIS.
 QUÆ. GENTES. ALPINÆ. OMNES. QUÆ. A. MARI. SUPERO.
 AD. INFERUM. PERTINEBANT. SUB. IMPERIUM. POPULI. RO-
 MANI. SUNT. REDACTÆ. GENTES. ALPINÆ. DEVICTÆ. TRIUM.
 PILINI. CAMUNI. VENNONETES. ISARCI. BREUNI. NAUNES.
 FOCUNATES. VINDELICORUM GENTES. QUATUOR. CONSUA-
 NETES. VIRUCINATES. LIGATES. CATTENAIES. ABISONTES. RU-
 GUSCI. SUANETES. CALUCONES. BRIKENTES. LEPONTII. VI-
 BERI. NANTUATES. SEDUNI. VERAGRI. SALASSI. ACITAVO-
 NES. MEDULLI. UGENI. CATURIGES. BRIGIANI SOGIUNTII.
 EBRODUNTII NEMALONI. EDENATES. ESUBIANI. VEAMINIGAL-
 LITÆ. TRIU. ATTI. ECTINI. VERGUNNI. EGUITURI. NEMEN-
 TURI. ORATELLI. NERUSI. VELAUNI. SUETRI. NON. SUNT.
 ADJECTÆ. COTTIANÆ. CIVITATES. XII. QUÆ. NON. FUERUNT.
 HOSTILES. SED. ITEM. ATTRIBUÆ. MUNICIPIIS. LEGE. POMPEIA.

C H A P. XXIX.

Who made the other Highways in France.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. That Agrippa, Son-in-Law to Augustus, made the Highways of France.</p> <p>2. That the City of Lyons is the Place whence he began them.</p> <p>3. The Number of the said Roads, both Military and Cross-ways.</p> <p>4. Four great Military Ways made by Agrippa.</p> | <p>5. The Length of the first of the four.</p> <p>6. The Length of the second, and Tiberius's Journey on it, with incredible Celerity.</p> <p>7. Extent of the third, which was the Longest of them all.</p> <p>8. The Length of the fourth.</p> <p>9. Some Emperors, after Augustus, carry'd on the Works of the Highways in Gaul.</p> |
|--|---|

1. **W**E have already carry'd the Highways of Gaul as far as *Lions*; it now remains, to see when, and by whom they were finish'd, and stretch'd out to the utmost Bounds of the Western and Northern Ocean, which washes this Province on the one Side, and to the *Pyrenean Mountains*, and *Mediterranean* on the other. To know this, we need only read the 4th Book of *Strabo's Geography*, towards the End; where we find, that as it was an amazing Enterprize, so it was requisite to put it into the Hands of the greatest Prince in the Empire

Dion. Cass. lib. 54.

Ceterum ad Imperium Agrippam quodammodo Augustus provexit, &c.

pire

pire next to *Augustus*, which was his Son-in-Law *Agrippa*; whom *Augustus* had in some sort made Emperor, sharing with him almost all the same Honours and Prerogatives that he reserv'd to himself, even to the Tribunician Power, which he bestow'd on him several Times, and every Time for five Years. In other Respects he was the discreetest Man, the freest from Vanity, and the most powerful, without Ambition, of his Time: And besides, he was very knowing as to the Situation of the Provinces, and the Nature of their Parts; very much addicted to Architecture; but above all, extraordinarily affected to the Works of the Highways, with which he was so continually taken up, that no Year pass'd but he undertook some one or other. *Dion Cassius* tells us to this

Lib. 53.

Purpose, That *Augustus Caesar* being Consul the eighth Time with *Statilius Taurus*, *Agrippa* had the Leisure to beautify and adorn a certain Enclosure made in the Field of *Mars*, and to dedicate it by the Name of *Septa Julia*, the *Julian* Enclosure, because that Year he had not undertaken to pave any Highway.

12. Now the Highways of *Gaul* falling to his Lot, in the Distribution of them all, made by his Father-in-Law, he apply'd himself seriously to the Work, and gave not over till he had furnish'd all *Gaul*, from End to End, with Roads so well made, and so solidly wrought, that we see them still whole in many Parts of *France* and the *Low Countries*, notwithstanding the continual Running of Carts for 16 Centuries. And in regard that the principal Passes out of *Italy* into *France*, over the *Alps*, by Means of the Ways already made by *Augustus*, came to meet, and cross one another in the City of *Lyons*; as also because the Situation of the City, by reason of the

Rivers

Rivers that meet there, render'd it likely by Trade, to become a beautiful and wealthy Place; therefore *Agrippa* began his Highways there, and thence carry'd them on all about to the farthest Parts of the *Gallick* Provinces.

3. As for the Number of them, it may be diversly taken; for some are of a prodigious Length, crossing all *Gaul*, and meeting with others that run into *Italy*, *Spain* and *Hungary*; or else ending in Sea-ports. The others are Cross-ways, depending on the great ones, as Branches on the main Body, and made purposely to facilitate the Marches of Armies from Place to Place, and to make the better Commerce between the chief Towns, as being join'd by the Intercourse of those large cross Caufways, the Number whereof is so great, that it is not easily to be express'd.

4. As for the principal and greatest of the Ways, *Agrippa* made four of them, which are remarkable for their Length, and the Difficulty of carrying them on; for he drew one quite across the Mountains, which the *Latins* call *Cemmenos Montes*, and we the Mountains of *Auvergne*, and continu'd it to the utmost Bounds of *Aquitain*. The second he run all along the *Rhine*, to the Northern Ocean. The third quite across *Burgundy*, *Champaigne*, and *Picardy*, to the Western Ocean. The fourth thro' the Country of *Narbonne*, to the Port of *Marseilles*. This we have from *Strabo*, who liv'd at that very Time, and delivers it as has been said.

5. Now let us see of what Extent these Works were, and begin with that Way which ran across the Mountains of *Auvergne*. These Mountains have their Rise near *Lyons*, and other Places seated along the River *Rhofne*, and particularly where the *Rhofne* and the *Isaire* meet; thence they run strait
along

along very near to the Pyrenean Mountains, above 250 Italian Miles in Length, which is the same as 2000 Furlongs affig'd by *Strabo*, who was a Grecian, for the Extent.

6. The second was yet much longer than the former, as running to the Place where the *Rhine* and the *Maese* being first join'd, and afterwards again divided into several Channels, lose themselves in the German Ocean. It was doubtless on this Way that *Tiberius Cæsar*, whilst *Augustus* was still living, travell'd such a great Extent of Ground in so short a Time, going to visit his Brother *Drusus Germanicus*, then sick of the Distemper he dy'd of, in that Part of the ancient *Holland* next to *Germany*: For by the Help of this Way, then newly made, and of three Relays of Chariots, settled on this Road, according to the Custom of those Days, he travell'd 200 Italian Miles in 24 Hours, which *Pliny* tells us as a wonderful Thing, and an Instance of incredible Celerity.

Lib. 7. Nat. Hist.
cap. 20.

7. The third was the longest of them all, and had most Cross-ways belonging to it, of which the *Belgick Gaul* is still full. We have it entire in *Antoninus's* Itinerary, trac'd from Place to Place, and from Town to Town, from *Lyons* to the Port, by the *Latins* call'd *Gessoriacus Portus*, the Length of 504 Italian Miles, computed by the Itinerary at 338 Gaulish Leagues. This Way comes from *Lyons* to *Troyes* in *Champagne*, across *Burgundy*, whence it passes through *Chaalons*, *Rheims*, *Soissons*, *Noyon* and *Amiens*, and thence comes to end at last at *Bologne*, which is the famous Port call'd *Iccius*, or *Gessoriacus Portus*, on the Borders of the People call'd *Morini*, who are those of *Terouenne* and *Flanders*, by *Virgil* term'd, *The remotest of Men*; *Extremique hominum Morini*.

8. The

8. The fourth and last Way, ran along the *Rhofne* to the *Mediterranean* Sea, and ended at the Port of *Marseilles*, which is made by a great Rock in the Shape of a Theatre, expos'd to the South Wind, as *Strabo* describes it.

9. After *Augustus*, and his Son-in-Law, it is most certain that several *Roman* Emperors made some Additions to the Ways of *Gaul*; which we should be more particularly acquainted with, had the Pillars they us'd to erect on their Work, to tell the Number of Miles, been preserv'd to our Days. But Time, the Destroyer of all Things, having cast down, and lost them, with the Inscriptions on them, has left us almost altogether in the Dark, very few such Columns being left standing; of four of which *Monsieur Savaron*, that learned President of *Auvergne*, has sent me the Inscriptions. Two of them have been already set down, and show, that *Tiberius*, and one of the *Cæsars*, who calls himself *Prince of the Youth*, forwarded those Works. As for the other two, one of which is at *Perignac* near the River *Ailler*, and the other in *Givaudan*, they inform us, that the Emperors *Adrian* and *Postumus*, made some Part of the Way where they stand, as appears by the Inscriptions, which are these:

I. I. CÆS.

1.

I. CÆS. DIVI. TRA
JANI PARTHICI FIL.
DIVI NERVÆ NE. J.
: RAIANUS. HADRI.

2.

IMP. CÆS.
M. CAS. LAT.
POSTUMO.
P. F. AUG. COS.
M. P. GABALL. V.

C H A P. XXX.

The fabulous, and the true History of the Highways in England.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Cambden's Testimony concerning the Highways in England.</p> <p>2. English Fables concerning the Highways.</p> <p>3. Cambden's Decision.</p> <p>4. A Conjecture concerning the Beginning of the Highways in England.</p> <p>5. A Conjecture that Adrian made the Highways of England, as well as the Wall there.</p> <p>6. Septimius Severus made Ways and Bridges in England.</p> | <p>7. The Wall by him made from Sea to Sea, 32 Miles in Length.</p> <p>8. Conjectures taken from Spartian, and venerable Bede, concerning the Highways of England.</p> <p>9. The Names of four great Highways in England, made by Honorius and Arcadius.</p> <p>10. The Testimony of Cambden concerning the Excellency of the Highways in England.</p> |
|---|--|

1. *Cambden*, who has describ'd Great Britain so learned and elegantly, tells us, That the Highways formerly pav'd by the Emperors the whole Length and Breadth of the Island, still appear in several Parts, especially in By-places, and Feeding-grounds, where they show themselves rais'd up on Banks made purposely to bear them; but that in Places more frequented, they are very much broke up, because the Country People carry away the Gravel and Sand to use it elsewhere.

2. The

2. The Bulk, the Height and Length of these Ways, which seem to exceed the Power of Man, have given Occasion to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, especially those who have long been known by the Name of *Englishmen*, to invent several Fables concerning the first Makers of those Ways, as well as the *Flemmings*. The same Author writes, That some hold it as a Tradition from Father to Son, that the Roads there made by Hand, are the Work of Giants, as not believing they could be made by the ordinary Sort of Men, because of their Length and Magnificence: His Words are these;

Our common Sort say the Roman Works were made by Giants; whom in their Northern Tongue they call

Eatons, instead of Heathens, if I mistake not. But Geofrey of Monmouth says, Those Ways were the Work of a King descended from Brutus, and call'd Mulmutius, who liv'd long before the Birth of Christ; and adds, That this Mulmutius being a great Sorcerer, perform'd that by the Assistance of his Art, and of Devils, which it was impossible for Men to do; for that in a few Days England was furnish'd with Highways of a beautiful and admirable Structure, from one End to the other, which were still entire in many Places in his Days, to the Amazement of all that beheld them.

3. But *Cambden* taking up the Matter, with good Reason says, He is so far from giving any Credit to that Story, that, on the contrary, he can safely affirm the *Romans* were the Men who by Degrees rais'd and pav'd them.

4. And he is in the Right in saying by Degrees, forasmuch as those Ways were not made all at once, or by one and the same Emperor. *Suetonius* assures us, that *Claudius*, Successor to *Caligula*, was the first that

that set Foot in *Britain* after *Julius Caesar*; and that having reduc'd Part of it under his Obedience, without any Battel or Bloodshed, he return'd to *Rome*, entering the City in Triumph, as if he had gain'd some great Victory over those Islanders. It is to be suppos'd, that from that Time forwards the *Roman* Officers sent to command the conquer'd People, began the Work of the Highways; at least we have before shewn, that under the Empire of *Domitian*, there were many of these Works finish'd by the Help of the People of the Country, who even then complain'd that they were kept to it by Force. The first Emperors I find came into this Island after *Claudius*, were *Adrian* and *Septimius Severus*; the first of which, it is to believ'd caus'd the Work of the Highways to be carry'd on, as well as the Wall 80 Miles in Length he built there; and, I think, *Spartian* hints at it, when he says, *That Adrian, being in Great Britain, mended many Things, and was the first that drew a Wall 80 Miles in Length, to divide the Barbarians from the Romans.*

6. As for *Septimius Severus*, he went thither in his latter Days, to subdue a barbarous People then possessing that Part of the Island now call'd *Scotland*, and by the Ancients *Caledonia*. Being there, the first Thing he did was to build several Bridges, and raise Banks across the Watry and Boggy Parts of the Country, to provide a solid Place on which the Soldiers might stand fast to fight: Which he did, because upon the Ebbing of the Sea, the Country remain'd full of many Shoal-Waters, across which the Natives of the Country were us'd to go and come, and even to fight standing up to the Belly in them; for at that Time they had no use of Cloaths, having nothing on them but two Iron Hoops about their Body and Belly. The rest of their Body they painted with several Sorts of Creatures, wearing neither Head-piece nor Armour; but

only a narrow Buckler, a Javelin, and a Sword hanging to their right Side. To deprive these naked People of the Advantage of attacking and retreating over these Morasses, Severus caus'd a great Part of them to be fill'd up with mighty Banks of Earth across them, for his Men to pass and fight on more advantagiously; as Herodian describes it, in the 3d Book of his History; where, among other Things, he says: *In the first place, he took Care to lay Bridges over the Marshes, that the Soldiers might stand out of Danger, and fight upon firm Land. Forasmuch as many Places in Britain grow boggy by the frequent washing in of the Ocean: The Barbarians swim, and make Excursions up to the Belly in these Bogs. And presently after, The Roman Army having pass'd the Rivers, and those Trenches, which being rais'd against the Barbarians, are the Roman Boundaries, there were some Skirmishes and Excursions, the Romans having the better in all Parts.*

7. But above all these Banks, that is most wonderful which Severus made of a prodigious Length and Height, to divide the Roman Countries from those which were not yet conquer'd; and to serve as a strong Rampart against the Picts and Scots; whence the whole Work was call'd the Pict's Wall, and ran across the Island from Sea to Sea for 112 Italian Miles in Length; and not 32 only, as *Aurelian Victor*, and *Baptista Egnatius* have it, where the Number is mistaken. This is the noblest Work this Emperor perform'd during his Reign, and for which he had the Title of *Britannicus*, as *Spasian* writes.

8. It must be own'd, that, before this Emperor, there were Ways pay'd and fitted in all Respects, as they us'd to be, with the Resting Places, which they call'd *Mansiones*; where the Emperors marching with their Armies along the Highways, were us'd to take up their Lodging, as may be gather'd from the Words

of

of two good Authors, the first of whom is *Spartian*; who says, *After building the Wall at the Trench, when he return'd to the next Mansion, &c.* The other is venerable *Beda*, a Native of the Country, and its Historian, who speaks thus of the Works done there by the Romans, among which the Highways are not forgot: *They dwell within the Trench, which we mention'd Severus made across the Island, on the South-side of it; which the Cities, Temples, Bridges, and paved Ways made there, do testify.*

9. *Cambden* tells us, there are ancient Records in England, by which it appears, that some of the Highways in England were made in the Days of the Emperors *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, running from Sea to Sea; and adds, That some Historians are certainly mistaken, who say there are but four in all Great Britain, because many more appear up and down in the British Provinces. Those who stand to this Number, write, that the first was made by a Roman call'd *Vuclian*, without giving any farther Account of him, and that from him the Way came to be call'd *Watling-Street*, in the Idiom of the Country, and *Verlam-Street*, from a Town it goes through. The second was *Ikeneld-Street*, from the Town of *Icenium*, where it began. The third, having Ditches on both Sides, had the Name of *Fossæ*. The fourth was nam'd *Ermin-Street*, that is, *Mercury's Way*, the Germans, as *Joannes Obsopæus* affirms, having formerly worshipp'd him under the Name of *Irminsul*, that is, *Mercury's Pillar*.

10. But *Cambden*, who is an Englishman, and made curious and strict Enquiry concerning those Ways, says, there are many besides those four in several Parts of Britain, in many Places whereof they were oblig'd to drein the Bogs, and in others to raise long Dikes or Banks of Earth like Ramparts, and then to pave

pave them with Pebbles; and that of such a Breadth, that two Carts meeting, might easily pass by one another: His Words are these; *Indeed they are very admirable and magnificent; but above all, the Picts Wall, and those Ways of wonderful Workmanship in all Countries; secur'd and strengthened in some Places by dreining the Bog, in others by raising Banks; and so broad, that they might easily receive Carriages that met.*

[illegible]

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The End of the First Book.

The second was located in the Town of
Lewiston, where it was the third largest
factory in the State. The fourth

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